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# USSR Report

MILITARY AFFAIRS

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# USSR REPORT MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## MILITARY-POLITICAL ISSUES

### REVIEW OF BREZHNEV'S BOOK ON GUARDING PEACE AND SOCIALISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian No 4, Feb 82 (signed to press 5 Feb 82) pp 8-15

[Article: "Bastion of World Peace and Social Progress (On Publication of the Second, Enlarged Edition of L. I. Brezhnev's Book "Guarding Peace and Socialism")"]

[Text] Our homeland is marching at full strength along the road of building communism. Soviet citizens are working selflessly on fulfillment of the 11th Five-Year Plan, ensuring a steady upsurge in the economy, growth in the people's living standards, and increase in this country's defense might. History is convincingly confirming the correctness and validity of the course of foreign policy of the Leninist party and its conformity with the interests of all peoples and the objective requirements of societal development.

Indissolubly combined in CPSU foreign policy are love of peace and readiness to rebuff any aggressor. This Leninist course of policy is characterized by a strictly scientific character, by an innovative approach to analysis of dynamically developing world events, by bold prediction of the future, and by consistent implementation of measures to strengthen this nation's defense.

An eminent role in theoretical and practical elaboration of problems pertaining to the struggle for peace, guaranteeing the security of our homeland and the cause of socialism is played by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mar SU Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and chairman of the USSR Defense Council. His book entitled "Na strazhe mira i sotsializma" [Guarding Peace and Socialism] is vivid evidence of this.

The second edition of this book is being published, in conformity with the desires of military readers, in the series "The Officer's Library." Synthesized in the reports, speeches, articles and other writings collected in this volume is the enormous experience of our party and state in the struggle for international détente and against the aggressive policy of imperialism; it reflects the tireless productive activity of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, directed toward enhancing the international prestige of the USSR and strengthening the defense might of the Soviet State.

\* \* \*

This volume presents a profound analysis of the complex dialectic of war and peace in the contemporary era. The main directional thrusts of the aggressive actions of imperialism and other reactionary forces, the causes and sources of the military danger in present-day conditions, and the basic factors which ensure the prevention of wars are revealed in a well-reasoned manner.

Every page in this volume is permeated by the passionate enthusiasm of the party's struggle for the security of peoples. Never before has the price of peace been so high as today, when atomic and hydrogen bombs and missiles have appeared in the arsenal of means of waging war, and when imperialism is feverishly building up its nuclear stockpiles. To remove from mankind the threat of a thermonuclear war is a most urgent task of the present day. /"There is today no more important task in the international arena for our party, our people, and for all the peoples of the world than to defend peace,"/ stressed Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress (page 757).

The peace-seeking character of our foreign policy proceeds from the very essence of socialism, which for the first time in the history of mankind has put an end to exploitation of working people and to militarism. Defending peace and the right of peoples to free and independent development, the Soviet Union acts in close coordination with its friends in ideals and goals -- the nations of the socialist community. The might of their unified forces has a sobering effect on imperialist circles.

A suitable rebuff is given to attempts by reaction, employing subversive activities against socialism, to create a psychological climate in which it would be easier to attain their militaristic goals. "The imperialists and their accomplices are systematically conducting hostile campaigns against the socialist countries. They are slandering and distorting everything which is taking place in these countries. The most important thing for them is to turn people away from socialism" (page 739). The failure of the schemes of the counterrevolution in Poland, where the Military Council of National Salvation adopted resolute measures aimed at protecting the rule of law and restoring public order, has infuriated international reaction and those leaders in the West who would like to push the development of events in Poland into a counterrevolutionary channel.

This book contains a panorama of the party's tireless struggle to accomplish a task of gigantic significance for all mankind -- a shift from confrontation, which is fraught with the threat of thermonuclear war, to establishment of normal relations between nations of differing social systems. Thanks to these activities, the principles of peaceful coexistence of nations with differing social systems have taken fairly widespread root in international affairs as the only reasonable ones. "For an entire decade international relations were developing in an atmosphere of détente. This is the most valuable achievement of the 1970's. It is the fruit of persistent joint efforts by the Soviet Union, the brother socialist countries, and all sober-minded forces of the present day" (page 782).

Unfortunately clouds have gathered thickly on the international horizon at the beginning of the 1980's. Imperialist reaction, and particularly the present U.S. administration, is seeking to place in jeopardy everything which has been achieved in the area of détente.

The most aggressive imperialist circles, closing ranks with other reactionary forces, are attempting to return the world to "cold war" times in order, escalating détente and the arms race, to alter the correlation of forces to their own advantage. Mankind is faced with a choice: either peoples and nations will marshal all their resources to preserve peace, or they will be thrown into the abyss of a devastating nuclear war.

A comprehensive description of changes in the international situation in recent years was given by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in the Central Committee Accountability Report to the 26th CPSU Congress. This time "was marked first and foremost by an intensive struggle between two directional thrusts in world politics. On the one hand there was a course of policy aimed at holding the arms race in check, strengthening peace and détente, and defending the sovereign rights and freedom of peoples. On the other hand there was a course of policy aimed at undermining détente, escalating the arms race, a policy of threat and interference in the affairs of others and crushing of the liberation struggle" (page 734).

This book examines the causes underlying the increased aggressiveness of imperialism and stresses the exceptionally great responsibility of all peace-loving countries to thwart the adventuristic plans of reaction and to preserve peace. The main directional thrusts of militaristic preparations by the United States and its NATO allies and the most dangerous forms of implementation of a policy "from a position of strength" are revealed to the reader. "Militant militaristic circles, headed by U.S. imperialism, have embarked upon an arms race unprecedented in scale," stated Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. "They avoid talks on restraining the armament process and on eliminating focal points on conflict and peaceful resolution of international disputes. They shamelessly encourage acts of open aggression and international banditry on the part of their henchmen" (page 796).

The United States is waging an undeclared war against Afghanistan and is rattling sabers in the Near East. It is guiding the expansionist policy of the Israeli aggressors and is fully supporting them within the framework of so-called "strategic cooperation." Antipopular regimes in El Salvador and Chile are being propped up with money and arms by U.S. imperialism. The South African racists are engaged in plunder and brigandage with the direct complicity of the United States.

Washington is pushing a buildup of the might of the NATO war machine, is seeking expansion of the sphere of operations of this aggressive bloc, and is extending the network of U.S. military bases onto new territories. The book stresses the particular danger of such militarist measures as the deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe and attempts to accustom people to the criminal idea of the permissibility of employment of nuclear arms.

"Peoples should know the truth about the fact that nuclear war would lead to fatal consequences for mankind," the book states (page 756). Strategic arms limitation and reduction is an urgent problem. All peace initiatives advanced by the Soviet State and all the socialist nations are directed toward solving this problem.

Imperialist reaction seeks to distort the meaning of the peace initiatives by the nations of the socialist community, to "demonstrate" that these proposals are not constructive, not new, and have the purpose of ending the "military preponderance" of the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact member nations. Such blunt militarist propaganda is designed to confuse and intimidate peoples.

Many materials in this book expose the lies of bourgeois propaganda and fabrications by leaders in the West, which are bare of any proof whatsoever, about a "Soviet military threat." "We do not seek and have no need of military superiority over the West. We need only reliable security" (page 655).

The Leninist party exposes attempts by supporters of a policy "from a position of strength" to whitewash barbaric means of waging war, including the neutron bomb, to pass them off as something "innocent," and thus to remove, as it were, the boundary between conventional and nuclear weapons, to make the transition to nuclear war externally imperceptible. The analysis contained in this book of the special danger presented to the world by nuclear missile weapons helps one understand what another world war would be like and to mobilize the masses to prevent such a war. "...To oppose the policy of fanciers of military adventures, to support strengthening world peace," the book notes, "today signifies coming to the defense of the very life of mankind, to the defense of everything great, noble, and priceless which has been created by men through the course of millennia" (page 781).

A dangerous focal point of military threat is also being created as a result of the hegemonistic aspirations of the present Beijing leaders. One is struck by the extreme lack of principles in their foreign policy, which aims at aggravating the international situation and at joining ranks with the policy of imperialism. "A simple calculation lies behind the willingness of the United States, Japan, and a number of NATO countries to expand military-political ties with China -- to make use of its hostility toward the Soviet Union and toward the socialist community in their own, imperialist interests" (page 741).

The aggression by the Chinese rulers against socialist Vietnam is a logical consequence of the militarist character of the policy and ideology of Maoism. Monstrous in its cynicism, it attests to Beijing's degree of irresponsibility toward the fate of peoples and shows with what criminal willingness the Chinese militarists put weapons into play. This book examines the lessons of history, which indicate that whoever has encouraged militarists has ended up as their first victim, and serve as a serious warning to all those who would play the China card for their own anti-Soviet purposes.

For 36 years now the Soviet people have been living in conditions of peace. If during this time the forces of aggression and reaction have not dared cross

over that fatal line, and mankind has succeeded in keeping our planet from a world conflagration, this has proven possible primarily because they are opposed by the powerful forces of peace and social progress, which are supported by the economic and military might of the Soviet Union and the other brother socialist nations.

\* \* \*

The Communist Party and Soviet State are persistently implementing a Leninist policy of peace and friendship among peoples. At the same time they realize that the brazenness and treachery of imperialist reaction demand great attention toward strengthening and improving the Armed Forces.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stated from the speaker's stand at the 26th CPSU Congress: "During the period under review the party and state have not for a single day lost sight of questions pertaining to /strengthening this country's defense might and its Armed Forces./ The international situation obliges us to do this" (page 762).

Many speeches and addresses by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev contain a comprehensive analysis of the fighting history of the Soviet Armed Forces and their historic mission to defend the socialist homeland. They stress the historic merits of V. I. Lenin and the party as builders of an army of a new, socialist type and the significance of the feats accomplished by its fighting men during the years of the civil war and foreign military intervention, and during the period of the Great Patriotic War.

This book examines the sociopolitical character of World War II and presents an appraisal of the struggle by the peoples of other countries against fascism. The decisive role of the USSR and its Armed Forces in defeating fascist Germany and militarist Japan is revealed with particular convincingness.

An analysis of the sources of the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War helps one more deeply perceive the grandeur of the feat accomplished by our people and their army and the need to preserve peace, achieved at the price of enormous efforts and sacrifices, and to keep a vigilant eye on the intrigues of those who would once again unleash a world war. "The lessons of World War II teach peoples first and foremost vigilance toward the aggressive intrigues of imperialism," the book notes. "Not to appease the aggressors, but to expose and thwart their plans, to offer a rebuff to their dangerous actions, and to strengthen the ranks of antiimperialist forces -- these are important tasks in the struggle to preserve and strengthen peace" (page 41).

Substantiation of the most important questions pertaining to strengthening the defense might of the homeland and root questions of military policy of the party and Soviet State is of great value. These questions include further development of Soviet military doctrine, corresponding to the character of the contemporary international situation and the level of this country's material and spiritual capabilities. The tasks of defense of socialist achievements, the

peaceful labor of the Soviet people, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the USSR, and the security of our friends and allies comprise its contents. "The Soviet Union threatens nobody and does not plan to attack anybody," comments Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. "And our military doctrine is of a defensive character."

Attempting to distort Soviet military doctrine, Western politicians and strategists persistently endeavor to propagate the thesis that it allegedly proceeds from the possibility of delivering a so-called first disarming nuclear strike. This is a deliberate lie. Attempts to ascribe to us the idea of a "first strike" are absolutely without foundation and are ludicrous. It is precisely militant imperialist circles which are the authors and ardent supporters of this idea, those who are today escalating international tension.

The Communist Party innovatively approaches determination of the historic mission of the Armed Forces at the contemporary stage taking into account the aggressive nature of imperialism and changes in the international situation. Addressing servicemen, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stated: "You are guarding the peaceful labor of Soviet citizens. The Soviet Union has never armed for the sake of armament, never has been and never will be the instigator of an arms race. Our successes in the military area are successes aimed at defending and securing ourselves and our socialist friends against potential aggression from any quarter" (page 592).

The party has concretized, applicable to the present situation, Lenin's theses on the unity of factors which guarantee reliable security for the productive labor of the builders of communism and the defeat of aggressors in a war, if the imperialists start a war. This book traces the concern of the CPSU to ensure that the economic, scientific-technical, moral-political and military potentials of our state develop harmoniously, in a dialectical unity.

Strengthening of our country's defense is being carried out on the basis of further growth of the economic might of the Soviet State, development of science and technology, and continued flourishing of the people's spiritual resources. Thanks to the growing capabilities of our national economy, the achievements of Soviet science, and the labor of workers, kolkhoz farmers, and scientists, the Armed Forces are receiving everything they need to carry out their lofty mission.

In his writings Comrade L. I. Brezhnev presents a profound analysis of new elements in this country's social development and their influence on enhancing national defense. A high degree of maturity of societal relations, further growing together of classes and social groups, nationalities and ethnic groups, consolidation in the masses of a Communist ideological outlook, patriotism and proletarian internationalism -- all these processes which are taking place in our society directly influence strengthening of this country's defense capability. This book notes the totally popular character of the USSR Armed Forces, broadening of their social base for manpower acquisition, and further strengthening of unity with the people.



Internationalism as a principle of Soviet military organizational development is continuously evolving, becoming enriched with new content. This finds expression in the fact that all the peoples of the USSR are improving our unified military organization -- the Armed Forces, which are multinational in composition. The party and state strictly observe equality of rights and obligations of all the citizens of this country, regardless of nationality, in performance of military duty.

Persons with a high level of ideological-political conditioning, intellectual and physical development, the sons of workers, kolkhoz farmers, intelligentsia, representatives of all this country's nationalities and ethnic groups, are carrying out their sacred duty to defend the homeland. The book presents a general description of the sociopolitical countenance of the personnel of the army of our totally popular state. "Today the sons and grandsons of the heroes of the Great Patriotic War stand in the ranks of defenders of the homeland. They have not experienced those harsh trials which fell to the lot of their fathers and grandfathers. But they are faithful to the heroic traditions of our army and our people. And whenever it is demanded by the interests of national security and defense of peace, when it is necessary to assist victims of aggression, the Soviet serviceman appears to the world as a selfless and courageous patriot and internationalist, prepared to surmount any and all difficulties" (pp 762-763).

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev devotes considerable attention to matters connected with development of Soviet art of warfare and mastery of the latest modes of waging contemporary war. The book states that in military affairs, more than in any other area, one cannot stand still. The reader's attention is drawn to questions pertaining to tactics, operational art, and strategy; fundamental tasks are assigned to Soviet military science.

The radical changes which have taken place in the military-technical equipment of the army and navy have strongly influenced the character and modes of combat operations and have increased the importance of proficiency on the part of military personnel, tactical and operational maturity of commanders, and readiness to carry out a combat mission in any situation, even the most complex. The party's demand boils down to constantly maintaining an adequate degree of combat readiness, organization and discipline which would prevent the aggressor from obtaining the slightest opportunity to catch us unawares. "Today, when a decisive role in military affairs is played by primarily crew-served weapons, and when success in employment of these weapons depends on the skilled and coordinated actions of many individuals, exceptional importance is assumed by a high degree of organization, constant composure and flawless efficiency on the part of each individual," the book notes (page 136).

Today, when the army and navy are armed with the most modern combat equipment and weapons, the fate of a war will be determined by personnel, who possess a consummate mastery of weapons and combat equipment, who are toughened morally and physically, and who are totally devoted to their homeland, party and people. The book focuses our attention on the fact that the combat potential of the Armed Forces comprises not a simple sum of technical equipment, military skill, and indomitable morale, but a solid fusion of these elements.



The most important criterion with which the CPSU approaches evaluation of the activities of military cadres and all personnel is troop combat readiness. Combat readiness, stated Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, concentrates as at a focal point the enormous efforts and material outlays of the people on equipping the army, the conscientiousness, combat proficiency and discipline of all military personnel, and the skill of command personnel in troop control.

Marching shoulder to shoulder with the armies of the Warsaw Pact member nations, the USSR Armed Forces are reliably guarding the socialist achievements of the working people. Questions related to the collective defense of socialism are profoundly substantiated in the writings and speeches of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev published in this volume. "In conditions where a threat of war continues to exist," stresses Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "the brotherhood of our peoples in labor and in building a new society is naturally supplemented by a brotherhood in arms.... We shall continue in the future continuously strengthening our collective defense and improving the mechanism of interaction of brother armies. Such is the will of our parties and such is the will of our peoples!" (page 172).

The book investigates the principles and forms of cooperation among the brother nations in the area of defense and in determining ways to increase the combat power of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces. "The military-political defensive alliance of the socialist countries faithfully serves the cause of peace," the book stresses. "It possesses everything necessary in order reliably to defend the socialist achievements of peoples" (page 738).

\* \* \*

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's contribution to the theoretical development of Leninist principles of party guidance of the Armed Forces in present-conditions is multifaceted. Unswerving following of these principles serves as a guarantee of continuous improvement of the combat readiness of the Soviet Army and Navy.

CPSU leadership is the basic foundation of Soviet military organizational development. Study of this book convinces one that there is virtually no important area in the affairs of our army and navy to which the party and its Central Committee do not devote constant attention. An exceptionally important role is played in guidance of the Armed Forces by Mar SU Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, chairman of the USSR Defense Council. With his theoretical work he is making a substantial contribution toward the development of Leninist teaching on defense of the socialist homeland, and in his practical activities he directly guides the resolution of root problems of army and navy organizational development, training and indoctrination of military cadres, and improvement of party-political work in the military. We find in this book many points and conclusions which give a scientific substantiation of the harmonious development of all branches of service and combat arms in the interests of reliably ensuring the security of the homeland.

The book contains important methodological guidelines on further improving the training and indoctrination of army and navy personnel and military cadres.

"Indoctrination of servicemen is a special art, and a complex and fine art, which every officer is obligated to master" (page 104).

Clearly running through the materials in this volume is the idea that in conditions of rapid development of military affairs, officer cadres should work constantly to deepen their knowledge, should work to master the latest advances in science and technology, and should steadily improve their skills in the area of leading and indoctrinating subordinates. "He who plans on getting along with his old store of knowledge and past experience," notes Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "may prove unable to handle the tasks of troop control in the modern manner" (page 103).

Many pages in this book tell of get-togethers between Leonid Il'ich and the personnel of military units and warships, addresses to graduates of service academies and participants in army and navy exercises, as well as letters to servicemen. All this embodies the indestructible unity of Soviet servicemen with the party, government and people, and expresses the daily concern of the CPSU Central Committee for the Armed Forces and increasing their combat power.

The combat power of the Armed Forces is continuously improving and their combat readiness increasing under party guidance. They possess everything needed for successful accomplishment of the responsible and complex tasks which are assigned to them by the party and people. The work style of military cadres, their efficiency, competence, high principledness, energy and persistence determine to a decisive degree a continuous improvement in the combat proficiency of personnel and indoctrination of servicemen who are patriots and internationalists.

One of the book's central themes is further development of the theory and practice of party-political work in the army and navy. "Party-political work with personnel and their ideological conditioning," states Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "always have been and continue to be a powerful weapon of our army. The strength of this weapon has been tested and proven in the flame of battle" (page 137).

Effective, continuous, purposeful party-political work constitutes a powerful instrument of the CPSU in the area of improving army and navy combat power. It ensures party influence on all aspects of life in the Armed Forces and makes it possible to form excellent moral-fighting qualities in personnel, their capability and willingness irreproachably to carry out a military order to defend the homeland.

The most favorable opportunities have been created in the army and navy for the ideological-political and moral indoctrination of all servicemen. "Concentrated here," one reads in this volume, "are well trained Communists, who have gone through the school of party indoctrination and combat conditioning, Communists who are commanders, engineers and technicians, and a well organized system of the party-political edifice has been established" (page 137). The ideas and conclusions in the area of party-political work contained in this volume comprise a broad program of increasing its efficiency and quality, a comprehensive approach to the entire matter of indoctrination, and close unity

of ideological-political, labor and moral indoctrination taking into account the specific features of the various groups of military personnel.

This book helps master the art of getting to the heart of current problems of life in the military and methodology of Communist indoctrination of youth, army and navy personnel. It contains interesting recommendations on matters of political, moral, and patriotic indoctrination. It discusses the combat and labor exploits of representatives of various nationalities. In connection with approach of the 60th anniversary of establishment of the USSR -- a unified multinational socialist state -- this book helps publicize the party's Leninist nationalities policy and indoctrinate servicemen in a spirit of friendship of peoples and proletarian internationalism.

This book vividly reveals the indoctrinational role of our army, which gives young people political training, technical knowledge, and helps them mature intellectually and physically. The importance of increasing the efficiency of military-patriotic indoctrination of youth is emphasized.

A leading role in preparing replacement personnel for the army and navy is played by party agencies, under the supervision of which government and public organizations operate: soviets, trade unions, Komsomol, DOSAAF, and others. In his speeches and writings Comrade L. I. Brezhnev reveals the place and role of party and soviet agencies, and public organizations in accomplishing the tasks of military-patriotic indoctrination of working people and ways to improve the forms and methods of mass defense work. Praise is voiced for labor and school collectives, and the Soviet family, which are making their contribution to forming the spiritual countenance of the defender of the homeland.

\* \* \*

Under the tested leadership of the Leninist party, the Soviet Union is confidently striding forward along the road of peace and is aggressively advocating that the historic dispute between socialism and capitalism should be settled not on the field of battle but in the domain of peaceful labor. With all the wealth of its content, the book "Na strazhe mira i sotsializma" instills faith in the triumph of Communist ideals and provides a deep understanding of the lofty historic mission of our army and navy in present-day conditions. The conclusions and recommendations of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev in the area of strengthening defense of the homeland serve as a guide for continuous improvement of the USSR Armed Forces -- vigilant guard over the revolutionary achievements of socialism and a reliable bastion of peace on earth.

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## ARMED FORCES

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## ARMED FORCES

### OFFICER POLITICAL TRAINING: PARTY ROLE IN DEVELOPED SOCIALISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian No 4, Feb 82 (signed to press 5 Feb 82) pp 16-23

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences Professor V. Bondar': "Enhancement of the Role of the Party in the Period of Developed Socialism"]

[Text] COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION! Soviet citizens and millions of working people in various corners of the world say these words with enormous respect. Our people see the party of Communists as their tried and proven political leader. Indoctrinated in Leninist ideas and revolutionary traditions, having absorbed the great wealth of experience of Bolshevism, and toughened in the flame of class battles and in the process of creative building, the CPSU has been transformed into a mighty and unified organization, standing at the head of the world's first worker state. It is precisely the leadership role of the Communist Party in socialist transformations and enhancement of this role which have constituted one of the most important conditions for creating a developed socialist society in the USSR.

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The question of the place and role of the proletarian party and its historic mission has received comprehensive substantiation in the works of the founders of scientific communism and CPSU documents. V. I. Lenin saw in the party of the proletariat the mind, honor and conscience of our era, a mighty force capable of heading the revolutionary movement and leading it to the end, that is, to the building of a Communist society. On the eve of the Great October Revolution he wrote that the Bolshevik Party was capable of taking power into its own hands and leading the people toward socialism, "guiding and organizing a new system, being a teacher, guide, and leader of all working people...." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Works], Vol 33, page 26).

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It is recommended that this article be utilized in officer Marxist-Leninist training groups when studying the topic "Enhancement of the Party's Leadership Role as Vanguard of the Soviet People in the Period of Developed Socialism."

Since the very first days of its existence the CPSU has been a party of revolutionary thought and revolutionary action. It is a party of struggle for victory of the socialist revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat, for socialism and communism.

The 26th CPSU Congress once again demonstrated that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a genuine vanguard of the Soviet people, that cementing foundation, that guiding force without which socialism is simply inconceivable. "We know well from the experience both of the past and present," stated Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the Congress, "that the role of the leading force of society does not come automatically. This role is earned, achieved in the course of continuous, tireless struggle for the interests of the working people. And this role is consolidated by the fact that the party is constantly deepening its ties with the masses and is committed to their needs and concerns" ("Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress], pp 218-219).

The 26th CPSU Congress confirmed the previous conclusion that in the period of developed socialism the role of the party in the affairs of society steadily increases. This conclusion, which reflects a most important law and pattern of the historical process, has firmly entered the treasurehouse of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory. It has become one of the cornerstone tenets of the conception of developed socialism. Supported by this concept, the party refined and concretized the pathways and timetable for achieving our program goals and defined the strategy and tactics for an extended historical period.

The Communist Party is an achievement-oriented political organization. It exists for the people and serves the people. Comprising the nucleus of the political system of the Soviet society, governmental and public organizations, the party ensures their close coordination and guides their activities into a single channel. At the same time the CPSU, following Lenin's instructions, seeks to achieve clear-cut delineation of the functions of all the parts comprising the political system of the Soviet society. It guides the work of governmental and economic agencies and public organizations not by excessively supervising them or taking their place, but by concentrating its main efforts on work with cadres, increasing demandingness on them, organization of verification of execution, and development of activeness by Communists and all working people.

We know that socialism as a societal system opens up boundless opportunities for the development of productive resources and for increasing labor productivity, as well as for improving worker living standards. They are not achieved automatically, however. They require an enormous exertion of energy and ability on the part of all working people, development of their creative initiative, improvement in the scientific level of management of the national economy, planning and forecasting, and maximum utilization of scientific and technological advances. The Communist Party is the organizer of this purposeful activity by the masses, the center of formation of a correct political line. The active position taken by the CPSU, armed with knowledge of the laws of social development, speeds up societal progress and secures conditions for full and comprehensive manifestation of the advantages of the new system and their

utilization in the interests of the worker class and all working people. The deepest objective foundation of the logical increase in the guiding and directing role of the Marxist-Leninist party in the process of building socialism and communism consists precisely in this.

Lenin's ideas on the principal factors which dictate enhancement of the party's role in the period of developed socialism have received profound and comprehensive development in CPSU documents and in the writings of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and other of our party and government leaders. They include first and foremost growth in the scale of and complexity of the tasks of building communism.

Indeed, building the highest phase of communism has reformulated many problems of this country's economic, sociopolitical and spiritual development and has demanded an especially high level of political and organizational leadership. Only the Communist Party, tirelessly developing Marxist-Leninist theory applicable to current and future tasks of building communism and utilizing past revolutionary-practical experience, is capable of providing profoundly scientific answers to the questions raised by contemporary society and to ensure accomplishment of the new tasks.

The party has elaborated and is consistently implementing a scientifically substantiated economic strategy directed toward achieving fundamental, long-range goals, the highest among which is a steady rise in the material and cultural living standards of our people. It is successfully incorporating modern methods of planning and management of societal production and methods of increasing efficiency and improving material and moral incentives for labor activity by the masses. The goals and tasks of contemporary social policy, aimed at further increasing the homogeneity of the Soviet society, with the worker class playing a leading role, have been specified in a close link with economic strategy.

The November (1981) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the Sixth Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, 10th Convocation, which specified concrete measures aimed at implementation of economic and social policy in the 11th Five-Year Plan, became an important stage in our party's campaign to carry out the tasks advanced at the 26th CPSU Congress.

The large scale and complexity of the tasks being carried out substantially strengthen the role of the Communist Party as the political and scientific center of direction of society. Of course experts, governmental and economic agencies work on solving specific problems. But elaboration of an overall long-term view and general strategy of development, selection of cadres and organization of working people for the purpose of carrying out program tasks are a job which can be assumed only by a Marxist-Leninist party armed with scientific knowledge of the laws of societal development.

It is also essential to bear in mind that accomplishing the tasks of building communism does not take place smoothly, without a hitch. It was noted at the November CPSU Central Committee Plenum, for example, that the state of affairs in the economy is influenced by factors which are entirely or partially beyond



our control. Drought, for example, has for three years in a row now caused heavy losses to agriculture, and this means to the entire economy as well. It is precisely the Communist Party which points out the ways to overcome existing difficulties. The November Central Committee Plenum pointed out, in particular, the necessity of skillfully adapting work in agriculture to climatic conditions and of carrying out a stricter specialization by regions, which presupposes the adoption of crops and farming techniques which ensure good harvest both with too little and too much rainfall. It is also important to set up the manufacture and improve utilization of appropriate equipment. All this, alongside development of land reclamation and improvement and more efficient utilization of fertilizers, will help lessen the dependence of agriculture on the weather.

The next factor which causes enhancement of the role of the CPSU is an increase in the productive activeness of the masses, involvement of additional millions of working people in management of the state, production, and public affairs, and enlistment in organization of stocktaking and monitoring by all the people in the various domains and components of our national economy.

The entire history of building socialism and communism shows that as the party advanced root tasks of transformation and development of society, it enlisted for performance of these tasks increasingly broader worker strata. Therefore each new stage in the movement toward communism also signified a new stage in growth in the productive activeness of the masses.

Such an approach is fully in conformity with the behests of V. I. Lenin, who stated: "In order to serve the masses and correctly to express its conscious interests, a forward detachment, an organization, should conduct all its activities among the masses, enlisting from the masses all its best manpower without exception, checking at every step, thoroughly and objectively, whether the tie with the masses is being maintained and whether it is living contact. In this manner and only in this manner does the forward detachment indoctrinate and enlighten the masses, expressing their interests, teaching them organization, guiding all the activities of the masses along the path of a conscious class policy" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 24, page 37).

The Leninist party enjoys enormous, truly undivided authority and influence among the masses. But this influence and this authority are not decreed. They are gained through heroic struggle, by concrete deeds, and should daily and continuously be reinforced by the efforts of party organizations and by all Communists. Proceeding at all times and in all things from a high-principled class position, the CPSU has been able in a practical manner to prove its capability scientifically to express and consistently to implement the root and daily interests of working people.

With the building of developed socialism, the Communist Party, while remaining the party of the worker class, also became a party of the entire people. The totally popular element in our party and in its policy is strengthened and developed on a class foundation, organically merging with it. The party constantly obtains from the depth of the life of the people, as from a life-giving spring, fresh ideas and experience, which it subsequently accumulates in its policy and embodies in practical activities. The ideas advanced by the party serve in turn as a powerful stimulus for the productive activity of the masses and give it the required directional thrust.

In present-day conditions the productive activity of the Soviet people, guided by the Communist Party, is directed toward accomplishing the tasks assigned by the 26th CPSU Congress and November (1981) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, securing continuous strengthening and development of the economic and defense might of the USSR, improvement of socialist societal relations, and steady advance by our homeland toward communism.

Enhancement of the leadership role of the CPSU is also dictated by the further development of socialist democracy. In our country there is no area of societal affairs in which root questions are not resolved by democratic means, and there is no class of social strata which does not participate in running our country. A total of 2,286,000 working people, for example, have been elected to soviets of people's deputies. A large body of activists, totaling more than 30 million persons, takes part in their work. More than 60 million persons, that is, almost one out of every two trade union members, are trade union activists and are constantly carrying out social obligations.

The party also ensures creation of material and spiritual conditions essential for deepening sovereignty of the people -- development of governmental and societal institutions, strengthening of legal guarantees and rule of law, freedom and rights of citizens. Through the soviets, trade unions, Komsomol, people's control agencies, voluntary societies, creative artists' unions, and various volunteer organizations -- building and street committees, women's councils, people's druzhinas, parents' committees, and comrades' courts, millions of Soviet citizens become involved in the system of socialist democracy, influencing the course of societal development through their diversified sociopolitical activities.

And the role of these worker organizations is steadily growing. And this is understandable, for with each step forward along the road toward communism more and more people participate in building the new society, and the activities of public organizations should also assume an increasingly larger scope. They help the party encompass with ideological and organizational influence all segments of the population, help it learn their attitudes, correctly determine policy, and mobilize the masses for its implementation.

Anticommunists, opportunists and revisionists of every hue and shade do everything they can to weaken the bond between the party and the masses in the socialist society. They call for "equal partnership" between the Communist Party and other public organizations or for "independence" of the latter, that is, their withdrawal from party influence and oversight. All this is served up under the demagogic flag of "enhancement of the role" of these organizations and "stimulation of activity by the masses."

The recent events in Poland demonstrated what the revisionists' demand for "independence" of mass organizations from the party really means in practice. Under the cover of the "Solidarnosc" trade union association, counterrevolutionary forces were implementing in that country a course of policy aimed at eliminating the leadership role of the party of the worker class and undermining the unity of the trade union movement. Attempts were undertaken to turn "Solidarnosc" into a political association in opposition to the Polish

United Workers' Party. At the same time conditions were created for activities by avowedly antisocialist organizations linked with imperialist centers and openly pursuing the goal of settling accounts with the Communists.

Thus attacks by anticommunists, opportunists and revisionists, waged primarily against Communist parties, are in fact directed against the socialist state as a whole and toward disintegration of the entire system of socialist rule.

The CPSU defines and advances the development of socialist democracy first and foremost by example of its intraparty relations, which are constructed on the principle of democratic centralism. This principle is grounded on two elements -- centralist and democratic -- which by no means are in opposition to one another but, on the contrary, harmoniously combine with one another, ensuring a high degree of party competence. Broad intraparty democracy, freedom of opinion in discussing any questions pertaining to party affairs, and strictly mandatory execution of decisions adopted by the will of the majority, and impermissibility of separating off into factions and groups constitute law for the Marxist-Leninist party. The methods used by the party to elaborate a course of policy and major decisions on the basis of considering the opinions of Communists and the broad worker masses, the forms, methods, and style of party leadership influence in the most favorable manner the development and flourishing of socialist democracy as a whole.

The measures taken by our party for further development of socialist democracy and the diversified work done by Communists among the working people lead to increased party authority among the masses and increase possibilities of successful implementation of its leadership role in all the affairs of society and in the campaign for further unification of the Soviet people in the name of building communism and defense of our revolutionary achievements.

All questions pertaining to the vital activities of the Soviet society are determined by our party on the firm foundation of Marxist-Leninist theory. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, the work of Central Committee plenums, the Politburo, and Secretariat is constructed "on the granite foundation of Marxism-Leninism" (see "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS," page 70).

In conditions of developed socialism and its further development into communism, there occurs steady enhancement of the role of Marxist-Leninist teaching and all party ideological work. This is determined by the unprecedented scope of the struggle for the victory of communism in the USSR and by involvement of the broad worker masses into the cause of practical implementation of party policy. All this demands constant investigation and theoretical synthesis of processes connected with the immediate practical business of building communism.

Ideological and political indoctrination work occupies a special place among the fundamental problems on which the party's attention and efforts are presently concentrated. The Central Committee Accountability Report to the 26th CPSU Congress deeply substantiates its tasks at the present stage. It is necessary to reorganize many areas and domains of ideological work, in order to bring it into conformity with those new domestic and external conditions in which

Soviet citizens are living and operating. The party attaches great importance to the question of the necessity of taking into consideration the increased cultural level of our country's population and more fully utilizing the extensive arsenal of forms, means and methods of propaganda at the disposal of our ideological workers. It is essential to bring up sensitive topics for discussion in a fearless manner and to give exhaustive answers to so-called difficult questions ("Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS," page 75).

The CPSU persistently and fruitfully develops Leninist principles of Communist indoctrination and a Leninist style in ideological work, which are grounded on a high degree of moral fiber, implacable opposition toward hostile ideology, and a unity of theory and practice. Raising high the significance of ideological work and combining it with organizational activity, the party seeks successful accomplishment of the tasks of building communism.

In present-day conditions our party is faced with more complex tasks in the area of foreign policy as well. Through the fault of imperialism, clouds thickened on the international horizon at the end of the 1970's and beginning of the 1980's. In spite of intrigues by the enemies of peace and socialism, the CPSU and our state are continuing the struggle for preserving and deepening détente and are developing in a practical manner mutually advantageous cooperation with the majority of the countries of the world, that is, are actively carrying out a Leninist peace policy. /"Defending peace,"/ stresses Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. /"Today there is no more important task in the international arena for our party and our people, indeed for all the peoples of our planet"/ (Ibid., page 31).

Consistently implementing a peace-seeking foreign policy, our party at the same time unswervingly follows V. I. Lenin's behest: "...Whoever forgets about the danger which constantly threatens us, which will not end as long as world imperialism continues to exist -- whoever forgets about this, will forget about our toiling republic" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 42, page 173). This Lenin behest is more pertinent than ever before in the present-day situation. Therefore the CPSU devotes unabating attention to further strengthening the nation's defense capability and maintaining the combat readiness of the Soviet Armed Forces at an adequate level.

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Enhancement of the leadership role of the CPSU in all areas of the life of Soviet society is a general law and pattern. This pattern is also vividly manifested in the Armed Forces. But here it also assumes certain specific traits dictated by the character and historical function of the army and navy.

Created, as stated in the USSR Constitution, for the purpose of defending socialist achievements, the peaceful labor of the Soviet people, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state, the USSR Armed Forces are organized and improved primarily taking into account the degree and character of military preparations by international imperialism. The complexity of the international situation in the contemporary era immeasurably increases the role of the CPSU in elaboration and implementation of foreign policy, which organically

combines a consistent campaign for peace with reliable defense of the historic achievements of the Soviet people and the peoples of the nations of the socialist community. And it is therefore no coincidence that our party and state, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted, do not ignore for a single day questions pertaining to strengthening the defense might of our country and its Armed Forces. The tasks of military organizational development have become substantially more complex at the contemporary stage, and the range of economic, political and military problems proper, which the party is called upon to solve in strengthening the nation's defense capability, has broadened. The character of the contemporary era, revolutionary transformations and military affairs, and the necessity of efficiently utilizing our gigantic material and labor resources in the interests of guaranteeing our nation's security -- all these factors are taken into account by the party during elaboration of the root questions of national military policy and Armed Forces organizational development.

Our party devotes unabating attention to matters pertaining to development of the defense industry, providing it with strategic raw materials and skilled manpower, siting of defense-significance enterprises, improvement of the system of management of these enterprises, as well as coordination of the activities of the branches of industry and scientific research organization in developing prototypes of new combat equipment.

Taking into account advances in military theory, science and practical activities, the party concerns itself with ensuring that the organizational structure of the Soviet Army and Navy, the forms and methods of their training, and the ratios among the branches of service, combat arms and naval forces are in conformity with today's demands.

Enhancement of the role of the CPSU in guiding military organizational development is also caused by the fact that tasks pertaining to ensuring the security of the USSR are today carried out in an indissoluble link with strengthening the defense capability of the entire socialist community. Together with the brother parties, the CPSU elaborates and implements measures to strengthen military cooperation among the socialist countries and to achieve a steady increase in the might of the world socialist system. Meetings of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member nations are held on a regular basis, attended by the general (first) secretaries of the central committees and heads of government, at which major matters pertaining to military-international activities of the brother parties are discussed.

In view of the complexity and responsibility of the tasks facing the USSR Armed Forces, the Communist Party and its Central Committee constantly concern themselves with improving party-political work in the army and navy. This concern is vividly expressed in the CPSU Central Committee decree of 21 January 1967, entitled "On Measures to Improve Party-Political Work in the Soviet Army and Navy," and the decree of 26 April 1979 entitled "On Further Improvement of Ideological and Political Indoctrination Work," as well as in the Statute on Political Agencies and the Instructions to CPSU Organizations in the Soviet Army and Navy, ratified in a new version in 1973.

Important measures have been carried out under CPSU guidance pertaining to improving the content, forms and methods of party-political work as well as the structure of the party political edifice. In particular, the tradition of deputy commander for political affairs was reestablished in companies, batteries, squadrons and equivalent subunits. This year higher military political schools, established by decision of the CPSU Central Committee, will be graduating their 12th class of officer-political workers.

As a result of adopted measures, party-political work in the Armed Forces is being organized to an increasing degree on scientific principles and is being directed in a practical manner toward accomplishing tasks of increasing the combat readiness of troops and naval forces, improving field, air and sea proficiency, and the moral-psychological training of personnel. By means of party-political work the party explains its policy, exerts party influence on the masses of military personnel, forms in them qualities of active builders and defenders of communism, and mobilizes them for successful accomplishment of their assigned tasks.

Party-political work is one of the solid foundations of Soviet military organizational development, a strong and effective means in the hands of the party to strengthen the combat potential of the Soviet Armed Forces. Its ideological-theoretical foundation consists of Marxism-Leninism and Leninist teaching on defense of the socialist homeland. The content, forms and methods of party-political work proceed from the teachings on the party, war and the army created by V. I. Lenin and further developed by the CPSU. The basic principles of Soviet military science, military psychology and military education science are innovatively utilized in party-political work. Party-political work permeates the entire process of combat and political training, instruction and indoctrination of military personnel, the entire life and activities of the army and navy.

The party and its Central Committee concern themselves with ensuring that party-political work in the Armed Forces is in the first place conducted in a spirit of general party work and, secondly, is directed toward successful accomplishment of the tasks assigned them. These two aspects of the approach to party-political work are coalesced in the activities of commanders, army and navy political agencies and party organizations.

Party organizations of the Soviet Armed Forces are our party's fighting detachment. Carrying out their activities under the supervision of political agencies and in a close unity with one-man commanders, they firmly and consistently implement party policy in the army and navy, indoctrinate servicemen in a spirit of Communist ideas, and do everything to ensure that the glorious defenders of the homeland, as was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, continue in the future reliably guarding the peaceful, productive labor of the Soviet people.

Armed forces conferences of secretaries of primary party organizations have become an important form of work by our party's Central Committee with Armed Forces political activists. Convening of the current, Sixth Armed Forces Conference of Secretaries of Primary Party Organizations, with the participation

of top-echelon command-political personnel, is a new manifestation of concern by the Communist Party for further strengthening the defense might of our homeland and increasing the combat readiness of its Armed Forces.

The combat power of the USSR Armed Forces and their technical equipment are steadily improving and the quality of training and indoctrination of personnel is improving under the guidance of the Communist Party. Following the immortal ideas of Lenin, the party does everything to ensure that the Soviet Army and Navy worthily carry out their sacred duty to defend the great achievements of socialism.

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Enhancement of the party's role is an objectively dictated process, a logical pattern in building socialism and communism. The CPSU is carrying out with honor the role of fighting vanguard of the Soviet people and is the guiding and directing force of our society.

Communists, the entire Soviet people, and army and navy personnel are proud of their party, of the results of its vibrant creative activity, and make every effort to implement its great guidelines and successfully to carry out the decisions of the 26th Congress of the glorious Leninist Communist Party.

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## ARMED FORCES

### IMPORTANCE OF PRIMARY PARTY ORGANIZATIONS DISCUSSED

Moscow KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian No 4, Feb 82 (signed to press 5 Feb 82) pp 31-38

[Article by Maj Gen V. Soshnev, chief of the Organizational Division of the Organizational-Party Work Directorate, Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy: "Foundation of the Party"]

[Text] Primary party organizations comprise the foundation of the party. Constituting the political nucleus of collectives, they are on the front line of economic and cultural development and in the very heart of the worker masses. Each of them, to use the apt expression of V. I. Lenin, serves as a "strongpoint for agitation, propaganda and tactical-organizational work among the masses." By all their actions primary party organizations foster the unification of party policy with the productive work of the people, as well as successful accomplishment of economic-political and ideological indoctrination tasks. Thanks to the activities of primary party organizations, the ideas and decisions of the CPSU penetrate deeply into the consciousness of Soviet citizens and are translated into the language of concrete deeds.

Primary party organizations, established at the place of employment of CPSU members, unite in their ranks the progressive, most conscious segment of the worker class, kolkhoz peasantry, intelligentsia, and members of the Soviet Army and Navy. Party plans are implemented precisely at plants and factories, on kolkhozes and sovkhozes, in offices and at establishments, at enterprises, in military units and on naval ships. Matters pertaining to accepting new members into the CPSU are handled in the primary party organization. Here a Communist goes through the Leninist school of party-mindedness, becomes conditioned as a conscientious fighter with high principles, and acquires skills of organizational-party and ideological indoctrination work in the masses. All resources are mobilized in party collectives to ensure unswerving execution of party decisions, and CPSU members and probationary members are indoctrinated in a spirit of strong responsibility not only for their own personal actions and deeds and for the activities of their organization, but also of the party as a whole.

This is why the CPSU and its Central Committee have always attached and continue to attach great importance to primary party organizations, call them fighting organizers of the masses, and assign to these groups of Communists



responsibilities for the state of affairs at enterprises and construction sites, on kolkhozes and sovkhozes, at establishments and in military units.

This role of primary party organizations was not defined at once. It was established as a result of consistent implementation of Lenin's teaching on a party of a new type. As we know, V. I. Lenin, innovatively developing Marxist teaching on the party of the worker class, substantiated its organizational principles and also elaborated the standards of party life and the principles of party leadership. They have passed the test of time and demonstrated their vitality in the most complex historical conditions.

Our party's party organizations were and are organized taking these points into account. Structural changes which were carried out in the process of such organizational development were dictated by the prevailing concrete situation and the necessity of strengthening party influence on major areas of societal, economic and cultural affairs, and were carried out in the interests of efficient placement of party personnel, enlisting all Communists into active participation, and creation of conditions for more practical and concrete party leadership of labor collectives. Today party organizations embrace all components of the state. The network of party organizations has increased in the last 15 years from 326,886 as of 1 January 1966 to 414,000 at the time of the 26th CPSU Congress.

Party organizations in the Soviet Armed Forces are a fighting detachment of the CPSU. They play a most important role in Soviet military organizational development and in strengthening the combat power of the army and navy. V. I. Lenin viewed them as the party's support in the military, faithful executors of party policy, capable of influencing the Red Army masses and leading them, of cementing the combat cohesion of units and combined units, and of politically indoctrinating servicemen. The party displayed and continues to display constant concern for improving the structure of army party organizations, enriching the content of their activities, and improving their work forms and methods. This was also the case during the civil war, when the structure of army party organizations was just beginning to take shape, and this was the case during the years of the Great Patriotic War, when the party was mobilizing all its resources to defeat the Hitlerite hordes. Suffice it to say that by the end of the Great Patriotic War the army and navy contained almost 60 percent of all Communists, the absolute majority of whom were concentrated directly in combat units and on warships.

Showing concern to strengthen party influence in the units and on warships and to increase the activeness and aggressiveness of party organizations, the party Central Committee regularly reviews their performance, refines their structure, and determines their areas of activity taking into account changes occurring in military organizational development and the increasing complexity of tasks pertaining to defending the achievements of socialism.

Questions pertaining to the activities of army and navy primary party organizations are reflected in the CPSU Program and Rules, and decisions of Central Committee congresses and plenums. At the initiative of the Central Committee, they are regularly reviewed with top-echelon party activists.

Armed Forces conferences of secretaries of primary party organizations constitute important landmarks in the affairs of army and navy party organizations. In his message of greeting to the Fifth Armed Forces Conference, held in March 1973, CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade L. I. Brezhnev highly praised Armed Forces party organizations and expressed firm confidence that they would continue in the future acting as genuine leaders and organizers of the military masses in the area of carrying out Lenin's behests and party decisions pertaining to strengthening the Soviet Armed Forces.

Guided by CPSU Central Committee guidelines, army and navy party organizations firmly and consistently implement party policy in the Armed Forces, strengthen their combat power through all their work, unite personnel behind the Communist Party, and indoctrinate servicemen in a spirit of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and total dedication to the socialist homeland and readiness to defend it. They persistently carry out the CPSU program provision that the Soviet Armed Forces should be a precision, smoothly-functioning organism, possess a high degree of organization and discipline, carry out in an exemplary manner the tasks assigned them by the party, government, and people, and be prepared at all times to offer a devastating rebuff to imperialist aggressors.

Army and navy party organizations reliably support commanders in performance of combat missions, execution of combat and political training plans, and in strengthening military discipline. Reliable party influence on all aspects of military affairs, performance of alert duty, discipline and organization of personnel are ensured through them.

During the years which have passed since the Fifth Armed Forces Conference, army and navy party organizations have become even stronger in an organizational and political respect. The number of party organizations in which party committees have been established has increased. Distribution of party manpower in subunits has improved. The number of company and equivalent party organizations and party groups has increased by one third.

Characteristic of the majority of party organizations is an increasing endeavor to penetrate more deeply into all aspects of combat training and actively to influence its course, the development of competition, indoctrination and discipline of personnel with their characteristic methods. Party work was performed in a purposeful manner, for example, to mobilize personnel for accomplishing combat proficiency tasks in the process of preparing for and holding the "Zapad-81" troop and naval forces exercise. Unit party committees and party bureaus gave concrete assistance to commanders in carrying out measures connected with increasing the combat efficiency of units, mastering equipment and weapons, created an atmosphere of innovativeness and responsibility at headquarters and in combat control entities, and conducted unremitting work in the area of moral-political and psychological conditioning of personnel. All this predetermined their high degree of activeness in the course of the exercise and successful accomplishment of the assigned missions. The actions of the troops were highly praised by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mar SU Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and chairman of the USSR Defense Council.

A wealth of experience has been amassed by many party organizations of units and warships, especially the party organizations of the military collectives which initiated socialist competition in the branches of service, districts, groups of forces, and fleets. Take, for example, the primary party organization of the missile unit in which Sr Lt S. Bukan' is a party bureau member. Characteristic of this party organization is a very close link between all work performed and accomplishment of combat and political training tasks, performance of alert duty, and a high degree of demandingness on Communists not only for their personal performance but also for the state of affairs in the subunits. It is not mere happenstance that two thirds of the groups and combat crews here, and 60 percent of the Communists completed the 1981 training year with excellent results. In recent years the unit has maintained a rating of excellent.

A high degree of activeness, efficiency and high-principledness distinguishes the work of the party organization of the motorized rifle regiment (Southern Group of Forces) in which Maj A. Rusanov is a party committee member. The party organization, utilizing its characteristic work methods, unremittingly influences securement of high quality and effectiveness of the training process and conducts a high-principled campaign for unswerving observance of the main principle of combat training -- to learn that which is required in modern combat -- and in all things serves as a reliable assistant to the commander. Party committee decisions have the power of law both for the elected bodies proper and for party members, each of whom has a demanding attitude toward his activities. And it is not surprising that during an inspection all marks previously awarded by the regimental command for subunit training were confirmed. The regiment received a solid good mark. The unit was awarded the challenge Red Banner of the military council of the group of forces.

One can also cite other examples of aggressive and purposeful activities on the part of primary party organizations of units and warships. Their aggressiveness is grounded on constant concern to strengthen the grass-roots party component and to strengthen ideological-political influence directly in the subunit, which is secured first and foremost by personal exemplariness on the part of Communists, by an improved level of their ideological indoctrination and organizing activities, by content-filled intraparty affairs, and by strengthening bonds with the masses of military personnel. An indicator of such a degree of activeness on the part of party collectives is the fact that in all branches of service since the Fifth Armed Forces Conference of Secretaries, the number of excellent-rated Communists has increased appreciably, by 15 percent, for example, in a number of Ground Forces combined units, and by 20 percent in the Air Force and Navy.

Manifested in all this, of course, is guidance of party organizations on the part of political agencies, and particularly political sections of combined units, which has risen to a new and higher level. They have begun more purposefully guiding the activities of party organizations, teaching and instructing secretaries and activists in a more practical manner, efficiently synthesizing and disseminating advanced know-how, more persistently carrying out party member suggestions, and responding without delay to their critical

comments. All this helps in a most direct manner to increase the activeness of party organizations and their responsibility for the state of affairs in the units and fleets.

We must acknowledge, however, that facts of a different category have not yet been totally eliminated. There are certain party organizations, for example, which operate without the proper initiative, principledness, and which do not exert effective influence on the daily life and training of personnel. The necessary demandingness on Communists is not displayed everywhere, nor is their personal exemplariness in carrying out their military duty ensured. The work of some party collectives in the masses of military personnel remains weak. As a consequence of this, in a number of places commanders, political workers and party organizations are content with average performance indices in combat and political training, accept deficiencies in ideological indoctrination work and poor discipline among a certain segment of military personnel. These errors of omission naturally affect the combat readiness of subunits, units, and warships.

Party work is a continuously evolving process. That which was satisfactory yesterday is inadequate today. Demands on this work in the army and navy increase as tasks of combat readiness become increasingly more complex, in view of the necessity of being even more vigilant toward the intrigues of aggressive imperialist circles and of even more persistently strengthening military discipline and organization among personnel. In this connection the activities of primary party organizations should assume an increasingly more aggressive and purposeful character.

Addressing the 26th CPSU Congress on the tasks of primary party organizations, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev defined them concisely and capaciously in the form of a desideratum: "Greater initiative, greater principledness." He stressed the same idea at the November (1981) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, attaching great importance to militance on the part of primary party organizations.

The tasks assigned party organizations by the 26th CPSU Congress and by the November Central Committee Plenum directly and immediately apply to army and navy party organizations. When one closely examines their activities, one sees clearly how much reserve potential for improving their work performance is not yet being utilized. This was confirmed in particular by the results of the 1981 training year and the recently completed report-election meetings, during which even in leading units and on leading warships Communists spoke of the many possibilities which are not yet being utilized in the training process, in the campaign for firm observance of regulations, and in unifying military collectives. Characteristic in this regard was a meeting in the excellent-rated tank regiment in which Maj V. Overchuk is a party committee member (Odessa Military District). In spite of excellent performance results in training, speakers discussed primarily that reserve potential which is available for further shortening the time required to make subunits combat ready, for boosting the proficiency rating of specialists, and for achieving rigid economy of fuel and engine operation. Having assessed available reserves, the party organization is working hard to confirm in 1982 the rating of excellent regiment. Such a businesslike, demanding approach is an important sign in the initiative-filled, innovative activities of party organizations.

Analyzing meetings of party activists to discuss the results of the November (1981) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, reports and elections, as well as addresses by many secretaries of party organizations and political agency instructors at training conferences and seminars, one reaches the following conclusion. With increased demands on combat readiness of troops and naval forces, training and indoctrination of personnel, questions pertaining to increasing activeness and militance, innovativeness and principledness in the work of each and every primary party organization are arising with increasing persistence. As we know, this problem is on the agenda of the forthcoming Sixth Armed Forces Conference of Secretaries of Primary Party Organizations.

CPSU organizations in the army and navy are guided in their activities by general party demands. The majority of practically proven work methods employed by local party organizations are characteristic of them. The chief concern for military party collectives has been and remains concern to ensure that all personnel thoroughly comprehend the patriotic significance of military labor and for forming in military collectives an atmosphere which would promote precise, intelligent, and initiative-filled performance of duties by each member. This is secured by the activities of party organizations as the political nucleus of collectives, by strengthening of their ideological work, and by the ability to give it a scientific character and efficiency, and to ensure its close link with practical realities and the tasks being performed.

One of the most important areas of activity by party collectives is the campaign for purity of party ranks and the enlistment of truly worthy individuals, who bear with honor the lofty title of member of the Leninist party. "Our task," stated V. I. Lenin at the Second Congress of the RSDWP, "is to protect the firmness, steadfastness, and purity of our party. We must seek to raise higher and higher the status and significance of the party member...."

The responsibility of party organizations for the quality of their new members has increased appreciably in recent years. They have begun more rigorously verifying the political, professional and moral qualities of new members, are increasing demandingness on recommending individuals, and have begun better utilizing the period of probationary membership to test new members. Nevertheless facts attest to the fact that serious deficiencies still exist in this matter of such enormous importance. Certain party organizations at times select individuals for CPSU membership without proper thoroughness and are guilty of impermissible hastiness. Precisely this is why the number of persons who fail to pass the test of the probationary period is not diminishing but increasing, and why there are a particularly large number of such errors of omission in the work of the party organizations of certain military educational institutions.

While displaying concern to improve the quality of new members, primary party organizations cannot for a single minute ignore another component part of regulation of their composition -- purging their ranks of those who fail to live up to the lofty mission of party warrior. The 26th CPSU Congress appealed for a highly demanding approach to performance by Communists of their obligations and to be implacable toward violations of the Party Rules and standards of party morality. Of course the party organization is called upon to work

aggressively to prevent potential violations of discipline. As regards cases of expulsion from the CPSU, many should be viewed as a signal indicating errors of omission by the party collective in indoctrination work.

The activeness and militance of any party organization is determined first and foremost by the level of ideological-theoretical training of its members. Ideological conditioning, clarity of goal, and the ability to wage a struggle against any and all manifestations of bourgeois ideology engender and stimulate energy on the part of Communists and their strong feeling of responsibility for the assigned task. Therefore it is very important for all party organizations that CPSU members and probationary members work persistently to master the theory of Marxism-Leninism, knowledge of the laws governing societal development, correctly understand new phenomena which occur in the practicalities of life, and give them a high-principled appraisal from a class position.

Our established system of party education plays a major role in solving this problem. Party organizations have strengthened influence on each area of party education: on the quality of classes at universities of Marxism-Leninism, at evening party schools, in study groups, and on preparing both instructors and students for them. Party agencies have begun examining more systematically and in detail the activities of agitation-propagandist collectives and groups, councils of clubs, libraries, and Lenin rooms, and are constantly concerned with ensuring a close, inseparable link between propaganda and practical realities. It is understandable that this most important aspect of the activities of party organizations cannot be given over to one of the members of the party committee or party bureau. All activists are involved in it. Experience shows that party organizations can increase their influence on improvement of ideological work and Marxist-Leninist training of Communists by direct activity in the companies, batteries, squadrons, and combat departments. This will enable them more fully to carry out the demands of the CPSU Central Committee decree of 26 April 1979, which calls for turning each party organization into a center of daily ideological indoctrination activity.

Everything we have discussed depends in large measure on the initiative of party committees, bureaus, and secretaries of party organizations. They are called upon to examine more actively the ideological affairs of the unit and warship, problems of morality, ethics, military indoctrination, the campaign against negative phenomena, skillfully coordinate the efforts of ideological activists and seek persistently to ensure that each Communist performs as a party political warrior. One cannot accept as normal, for example, the situation which developed in the tank regiment (Ural Military District) in which Maj R. Faizov serves as a party committee member. Here the influence of the party committee on agitation-propagandist work was weak, and not one CPSU member or probationary member rendered an account for his participation in it. Precisely this was the reason for the passivity of a number of comrades in public affairs.

The party organization is strong first and foremost due to the vanguard role of Communists in carrying out combat and political training plans and in propagating strict observance of regulations. Today the importance of personal exemplariness by CPSU members and probationary members has increased to



an even greater degree, in connection with the increased complexity of combat training and ideological indoctrination tasks. Therefore a correct procedure is followed in those party collectives where they are increasing demandingness on assessing the performance of each member and his personal contribution toward increasing combat readiness, carrying out socialist pledges, and strengthening military discipline. These questions have begun to be discussed more frequently at meetings, party committee and bureau sessions, and to be analyzed in the process of daily performance of service. A high-principled discussion is in progress on how Communists influence servicemen and inspire them with impassioned word and personal example.

The importance of concrete and purposeful work by party organizations aimed at ensuring exemplariness of Communists in training, discipline, and performance of duty is also increasing because certain party members and probationary members frequently are satisfied with average performance results in combat training and sometimes display negligence, irresponsibility, and abuse of their position. Party organizations cannot ignore such facts. They are called upon to display a high degree of demandingness on each individual, extensively utilizing criticism and self-criticism as well as other indoctrination and party influence measures specified by the CPSU rules. The main thing is not to allow deficiencies to spread, to nip them more resolutely in the bud, and to be rigorously guided by the principles that our party does not accept passivity and indifference. We believe that great attention should be focused on development in all Communists of a feeling of high principledness and responsibility for observance of the CPSU Rules.

Guided by Instructions to CPSU Organizations in the Soviet Army and Navy, party organizations are called upon to strengthen one-man command in every possible manner and to implement measures ensuring execution of the orders and instructions of commanders. Enhancement of the authority of commanders is promoted by electing them to party committees and bureaus, where they, especially the young ones, go through a school of party-mindedness and acquire the ability better to consider the collective wisdom of the organization, the suggestions and comments of CPSU members. Relations between the party organization and the commander, however, are not unilateral. The party organization secretary must not only consider the commander's opinion but also put forward to him matters of interest to party members.

We should also mention that party organizations are authorized to monitor administrative activities. As we know, they examine important problems connected with executing economic plans, product quality, and utilization of raw materials and supplies. Here high principledness in the work done by Communists assumes particular significance. Party organizations of cost-accountable enterprises and establishments are called upon to guard the interests of the state and to wage a persistent campaign against any manifestations of a narrow, parochial approach, poor management and bureaucracy, not to mention cases of embezzlement, bribery and other abuses. It is their primary task -- jointly with the management of enterprises and establishments as well as trade union organizations -- firmly and consistently to implement a party line of policy which ensures complete and high-quality accomplishment of economic tasks.

To increase initiative and aggressiveness in the work of primary party organizations and to indoctrinate Communists in a spirit of strong moral fiber and high principles means making every effort to develop intraparty democracy, criticism and self-criticism. In recent years the content of the work performed by party committees and bureaus -- collective leadership bodies -- has become greatly enriched, and the role of party meetings as schools of indoctrination of Communists has been enhanced. In many organizations in the Leningrad, Turkestan, and Far East Military District aggressive party meetings have been held on the following topics: "On the Personal Contribution of Communists Toward Implementing the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress"; "The Communist's Active Life Position"; "On Development of Criticism and Self-Criticism in the Party Organization"; plus others. Open party meetings are held more frequently. The content of meetings of party activists is becoming enriched. In a number of combined units in the Transbaykal and Moscow military districts meetings of party activists have been held for the purpose of increasing the responsibility and vanguard role of Communists and on progress in implementing the CPSU Central Committee decree entitled "On the Practice of Holding Party Meetings in the Yaroslavl' City Party Organization."

Report-election party meetings were held on a high ideological and organizational level in the army and navy. Their aggressiveness is indicated by the fact that all Communists spoke in the party organizations of companies and batteries, and more than half of members in the battalions. Many suggestions were made. Their implementation will promote more successful accomplishment of combat and political training tasks in the current training year.

The primary party organization cannot successfully perform its role without a constantly increasing link with the masses of military personnel and without active guiding influence on the activities of trade union and Komsomol organizations. It is a primary duty of party organizations to possess intimate knowledge of people's interests and to be as close as possible to them. V. I. Lenin stated in this regard: "Within the masses we are just a drop in the sea, and we can exercise control and management only when we correctly express that which the people acknowledge." A bond with the masses and knowledge of their aspirations help party organizations determine and improve work methods and more aggressively mobilize personnel to master equipment and weapons and strengthen military discipline.

The activeness and effectiveness of the work of the primary party organizations depend in large measure on the party organization secretary. He needs many qualities -- moral fiber, organizing ability, and the skill to unify the collective, to inspire and lead people. In recent years the composition of primary organization secretaries has significantly improved. Almost 60 percent possess higher education. But people do not suddenly become good political organizers. They grow and become conditioned in practical work. This is why political agencies must devote constant attention to their training and indoctrination.

Preparations for the Sixth Armed Forces Conference of Secretaries presupposes increased efforts on the part of party organizations to carry out combat and political training tasks. The main thing at present is to ensure that each and every party organization becomes a genuine political nucleus of the military



and labor collective and a center of daily ideological indoctrination activity. It is important to continue in the future improving the ideological and intra-party work of party organizations and to develop their initiative and right-mindedness in high-quality accomplishment of troop training tasks in 1982. Preparing to honor the 60th anniversary of establishment of the USSR in a worthy manner, party organizations are called upon continuously to increase their contribution toward accomplishing the tasks assigned by the Communist Party to the Soviet Armed Forces.

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## ARMED FORCES

### OUTLINE FOR INDOCTRINATION OF NEWLY LIBERATED COUNTRIES

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[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences Lt Col V. Lutskevich: "The Liberated Nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America"]

[Text] Study of this topic should help students become more deeply cognizant of the causes and results of collapse of the colonial system of imperialism, the role and significance of the liberated countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America in today's world, the specific features of their development, and should help in appraising the selfless nature of the diversified assistance by the USSR to the peoples of liberated nations in their struggle for democracy and social progress.

Six hours are assigned to study of this topic. It is advisable to allocate two hours to a lecture (talk), two hours to independent study, and two hours to a seminar (discussion).

It is recommended that the following topic items be covered in the lecture (talk): 1. The Great October Revolution -- Radical Turning Point in Development of the Struggle of Oppressed People for their Freedom and Independence; 2. Specific Features of Development of the Liberated Countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America; 3. The USSR -- Selfless Friend of the Peoples of Liberated Countries.

In the introductory statement the instructor should note that colonialism is a dismal and tragic chapter in the history of mankind. Throughout the course of many centuries vast areas in Asia, Africa and Latin America were the arena of bloody violence and brazen exercise of power by foreign conquerors. Spanish, Portuguese, British, French and other colonialists conquered entire continents by fire and sword for the sake of profit, turning their indigenous population into slaves.

Merciless exploitation of the natural resources and forced labor of the population of seized territories brought the Western bourgeoisie enormous profit. Centers of ancient civilizations have been wiped off the face of the earth, hundreds of thousands of people have perished, and priceless cultural monuments of many peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America have been destroyed in the

course of colonial seizures and wars. Exposing the true aims of the European colonialists, V. I. Lenin wrote: "...For the sake of profit to a small group of capitalists, bourgeois governments have waged endless wars, killed off entire regiments of soldiers in disease-ridden tropical countries, have squandered millions of dollars collected from the people, and have driven the population to desperate rebellions and to death by starvation" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Works], Vol 4, pp 379-380).

The process of development of capitalism into its highest and final stage -- imperialism -- was completed at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. Completion of territorial division of the world among the major capitalist powers became one of the characteristic features of imperialism. In 1919 colonies and semicolonies occupied 72 percent of the earth's land area and contained more than 69 percent of the earth's population. "Capitalism," stated V. I. Lenin, "has developed into a worldwide system of colonial oppression and financial strangulation of the great majority of world's population by a handful of 'advanced' countries" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 27, page 305).

Intensification of national and social oppression in the era of imperialism and a struggle for redivision of the world which commenced among the imperialist powers -- all this promoted the upsurge of a national liberation movement in colonial and dependent countries. A radical turning point in the struggle by oppressed people for their freedom and independence, however, did not occur until after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia.

#### 1. The Great October Revolution -- Radical Turning Point in Development of the Struggle of Oppressed Peoples for Freedom and Independence

At the dawn of the October Revolution the founder of the Communist Party and Soviet State, V. I. Lenin, predicted the inevitable onsurge of a mighty revolutionary wave, which was destined to sweep away colonial oppression and exploitation. At that time forces of protest were just beginning to awaken over enormous areas of Asia and Africa, but Lenin saw in the colonial empires a volcano which would eject the lava of hatred against foreign oppressors.

The Great October Revolution, which signaled the beginning of profound, all-encompassing social changes in the world, also provided powerful revolutionary impulses to the national liberation struggle of peoples. The Soviet Union, where the victory of socialism freed more than 100 nationalities and ethnic groups from colonial and social oppression, became an inspirational example and a mighty support for all peoples which were fighting for their liberation.

In the 1920's a popular revolution in Mongolia was victorious, Afghanistan gained its national independence, Turkey strengthened its national sovereignty, the position of imperialism became seriously weakened in China, India, Egypt, Iran, and Syria, and the ground became shaky under the feet of the colonialists in all of Southeast Asia, Latin America, and Africa under the direct influence of the Great October Revolution. With the establishment of Communist parties in a number of Latin American and Afro-Asian countries, real conditions were created for an alliance between the worker class and the peasantry and for consolidation of all patriotic forces in a unified antiimperialist front.

A new stage in the struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for freedom and independence began following World War II. The defeat of German fascism and Japanese militarism, to which the USSR made a decisive contribution, the victory of socialist revolutions in a number of countries of Europe and Asia, and formation of a world socialist system radically altered the world balance of power. Favorable conditions were created for a powerful upsurge in a national liberation movement of oppressed peoples. The peoples of Vietnam, India, Burma, China, Indonesia, and a number of other Asian countries achieved independence in the first postwar years. Arab nations -- Libya, Morocco, the Sudan, and Tunisia -- became independent in the 1950's, proimperialist regimes in Egypt and Iraq were overthrown, and the liberation struggle of the people of Algeria came to a successful conclusion. The victory of the Cuban revolution in 1959, which led to establishment of the first socialist state in Latin America, was an outstanding event.

Deepening of the general crisis of capitalism continued in the 1960's, when disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism appreciably picked up pace. During this period more than 30 more colonies gained their national independence, including the majority of African countries. The 1970's were marked by new victories of the national liberation movement by the people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The puppet regime in South Vietnam collapsed as a result of the failure of U.S. imperialist aggression in Indochina. A unified Socialist Republic of Vietnam was formed in 1976. As a result of the victorious revolution in Laos, the Laos People's Democratic Republic was formed, which proceeded to build socialism. In January 1979 the Kampuchean people overthrew the bloody pro-Beijing Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique and established genuinely popular rule. The heroic struggle of the peoples of the last colonial empire in Africa -- the Portuguese -- culminated in victory. Independent progressive states were formed on the fragments of this empire -- the People's Republic of Angola, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, the People's Republic of Mozambique, the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, and the Republic of Cape Verde. Revolutions in Ethiopia, Afghanistan, and Nicaragua, as well as overthrow of the anti-popular monarchic regime in Iran were events of historic importance. "In the 1970's," stated Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress, "liquidation of the colonial empires became virtually completed" ("Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress], page 4).

The process of liberation of peoples from the colonial yoke is continuing. In 1980 the Republic of Zimbabwe in Southern Africa and the Republic of Vanuatu in the Southwestern Pacific became independent. Belize, Antigua, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines -- former British possessions in the Caribbean Basin, gained their independence in 1981 (when naming young independent states, it is desirable for the instructor to indicate them on a political map of the world).

The instructor should note as a conclusion on the first topic item that the colonial system of imperialism collapsed within a comparatively short historical period of time following the victorious Great October Revolution. Independent states, in which approximately half of the world's population resided at the beginning of the 1980's, arose in the place of the former colonies. Collapse of the colonial system was the most important event in world history after establishment of the world socialist system. Loss of colonies greatly

narrowed the sphere of imperialist domination in the world and deprived imperialism of important military-strategic bridgeheads, sources of raw materials and manpower resources, which in the past had been utilized for aggressive purposes. A decisive role in destroying the colonial system was played by the national liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which rely on the comprehensive support of the USSR and the brother nations of the socialist community. "If it were not for the Soviet Union," stated Comrade Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and chairman of the State Council and Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, "the capitalist powers, in conditions of shortage of raw material resources and the energy crisis, would once again unhesitatingly undertake division of the world."

There still remain in the world a few focal points of colonialism, as well as a racist regime in the Republic of South Africa, bulwark of imperialism in Africa. There are still approximately 30 territories in various parts of the world, for the most part islands, which are in colonial dependence to the United States, Great Britain, France, Spain, the Netherlands, Portugal, and South Africa. These territories comprise less than 1 percent of the land area of our planet, and their population comprises only 0.3 percent of the world population. The largest of the existing colonies is Namibia, located in Southern Africa, which is occupied by the racists of South Africa. The Namibian people are waging an armed struggle for their liberation. The peoples of other imperialist colonies are struggling for their freedom and independence.

The reactionary regime in the Republic of South Africa has become a stronghold of imperialist plots against independent African nations. This is attested by numerous armed raids by imperialist mercenaries against Angola, Mozambique, and Zambia. Liquidation of this shameful blemish on the body of Africa is of enormous importance for eliminating obstacles for peace on this continent and for normalizing the international situation as a whole. There is no doubt that the complete and final collapse of the last colonial territories on our planet is inevitable. This is an objective necessity of societal development and is a command of the times.

The Soviet Union firmly and consistently supports the struggle of oppressed peoples as well as total and final liquidation of all vestiges of colonialism and racism.

## 2. Specific Features of the Development of Liberated Countries

In proceeding with presentation of the second topic item, the instructor should note that imperialism has left the liberated countries a legacy of an extremely backward economy, poverty, hunger, and sickness. According to figures in the press, at least 400 million persons in developing countries are living on the edge of starvation, 800 million adults can neither read nor write, 1.5 billion persons receive no medical care, and hundreds of millions of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America are without work. This is why the peoples of the liberated countries are faced with an urgent task -- to achieve genuine national revival and to overcome poverty and age-old economic and

cultural backwardness. Accomplishment of these tasks depends on what path of development is chosen by the young independent states.

These nations, as was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, are quite diversified: some have followed a revolutionary-democratic pathway following liberation, while capitalist relations have been established in others. Some of them pursue a genuinely independent policy, while others follow in the wake of the policy of imperialism. This is due to the complicated external and internal situation in which their development is taking place.

Two thirds of the nations on our planet are countries which have become liberated from the colonial yoke and imperialist dependence. But the imperialists do not wish to accept the fact that the world in which they have so long been in a commanding position refuses to serve and submit to them and is filled with resolve to go its own, independent way. Continuing to think in terms of domination and coercion, they have set for themselves the goal of achieving the unattainable -- to place an obstacle in the path of progressive changes in the world and to regain for themselves the role of arbiters of the destiny of the peoples.

The Central Committee Accountability Report to the 26th CPSU Congress stated: "Strengthening of the independence of the liberated countries is not to the liking of the imperialists. They are employing thousands of ways and means in attempts to attach these countries to themselves, in order more freely to utilize their natural resources and their territories for their own strategic schemes. They extensively employ the age-old method of colonialists -- 'divide and conquer!'" ("Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS," page 14).

The majority of developing countries have not yet succeeded in escaping from the clutches of the world capitalist economy. For the time being they remain unequal partners in the world capitalist market and are subjected to exploitation by the imperialist nations. Their economic structure is frequently oriented toward the needs of the monopolies of the developed capitalist countries. Unequivalent exchange, theft of natural resources, high interest rates and payments for foreign indebtedness undermine their economic capabilities to overcome their backwardness.

Of course at the contemporary stage direct forms of colonial robbery have yielded to more sophisticated techniques of neocolonial exploitation. But formal independence cannot satisfy a people and its democratic forces. They set for themselves the goal of gaining genuine independence. But the principal obstacle on the road to genuine independence continues to be involvement by the former colonial countries in the world capitalist economic system under conditions of extortionate non-equivalent exchange. Young independent nations have become convinced of the impossibility of each country fighting the imperialists alone for equal relations in trade and other areas. There has arisen the idea of coordinated actions for the sake of changing the world system of economic exchange, an idea which has evoked broad response in the developing countries and which has already become partially embodied in their joint actions. The struggle for a radical reorganization of international economic relations is becoming a paramount prerequisite for eradicating

neocolonial exploitation. This struggle receives full understanding and support on the part of the nations of the socialist community.

Defending their economic independence, the developing countries are showing great interest in the experience of building socialism in the USSR and the other socialist nations, as well as growing interest in practical cooperation with the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance and highly prize the genuinely internationalist assistance on the part of its members.

There is taking place in many liberated countries the complex process of demarcation of class forces, and the class struggle is becoming intensified. This struggle does not end with the gaining of political independence. Independence becomes shaky if revolution does not lead to profound changes in social and economic affairs and fails to accomplish the vital tasks of national rebirth. The worker class, the peasantry, the democratic intelligentsia, patriotic military circles, and the national bourgeoisie of the developing countries take part in accomplishing these most important tasks.

We must note that the worker class is the most consistent fighter to complete the national liberation revolution. This class totals approximately 200 million persons in the liberated countries. The significance of the worker class in the liberation struggle varies among the developing countries. In a number of Asian countries, for example, the proletariat grew and became formed as a class, achieved ideological-organizational maturity, established its political parties and played a leadership role in national liberation revolutions. But in a large number of former colonies, particularly in Africa, the proletariat is still small in numbers, has not become ideologically and organizationally strong, and cannot yet exert a decisive influence on the course of the national liberation movement. As industry develops in the young nations, however, the numerical strength of the worker class increases, it becomes more unified and organized, and its role in sociopolitical affairs grows.

The peasantry -- the numerically largest class in the developing countries, comprising up to 90 percent of their population -- is a natural ally of the workers in the national liberation struggle. The bulk of the peasantry are exploited by usurers, landlords and foreign monopolists, and suffer from landlessness and inadequate possession of land. It is not surprising that the toiling peasants, under the guidance of the workers, are increasingly more actively participating in the antifeudal and antiimperialist struggle.

One of the characteristic features of our time is active participation by the armed forces in the sociopolitical affairs of many countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In the last 20 years approximately 100 military coups or attempted coups have taken place in these countries. Many liberated countries are presently being run by representatives of the armed forces. In some cases actions by military circles have fostered acceleration of the pace of social progress, including entry by a number of countries onto a road of socialist orientation. In other cases armies have served as an instrument of reactionary military coups which have temporarily interrupted the course of the liberation process.



A particular danger to the independent development of the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America is presented by the activities of the reactionary military, which acts essentially as an agent of the neocolonialists. Military coups in Brazil, Indonesia, Sudan, Bolivia, Uruguay, Pakistan, Chile and other countries attest to the fact that democratic circles failed promptly to identify and isolate ultrarightist elements in the armed forces, to ally with the patriotic segment of military personnel and mobilize them to thwart reaction.

Imperialist circles, supported by reactionary military, are undertaking persistent efforts to hold young armies within the orbit of their influence. They draw liberated countries into imperialist military blocs, force bilateral military agreements on them, involve them in armed conflicts, profiting thereby from difficulties in organizational development of young armies, including a shortage of trained military cadres, shortage of arms, etc.

Developing countries are characterized by a mixed composition of the bourgeoisie. It includes progressive segments of the national bourgeoisie, chiefly the urban petite bourgeoisie. In many young nations a strong position is retained by the reactionary bureaucratic and comprador (trade and commerce) bourgeoisie, closely linked with and dependent on foreign capital. In addition, feudal landowners and a large kulak stratum have been preserved in a number of liberated countries. In some countries the clan-tribal aristocracy exerts considerable influence. As experience shows, as the development of young independent nations advances, and as the class struggle in these countries picks up pace, the national bourgeoisie frequently makes a deal with imperialism for the sake of preserving its class privileges and promotes counterrevolutionary coups.

The instructor should also discuss the following trend. In some Eastern countries, as was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, Islamic slogans have been aggressively advanced in recent years. A liberation struggle can of course also develop under the banner of Islam. History, including the most recent history, confirms this. But history also attests to something else: reactionaries in conducting counterrevolutionary insurgencies, also frequently employ Islamic slogans. The main thing is what goals are pursued by the forces which proclaim given slogans: progressive or reactionary.

Political parties express the interests of the various classes and social groups in liberated countries. Their appearance attests to aggravation of the class struggle. The formation of Communist and revolutionary-democratic parties in young nations is of particular significance. Communists are marching in the vanguard of the struggle to complete the tasks of national, antiimperialist, democratic revolutions. They most fully and consistently defend the interests of the masses.

Countries of socialist orientation, that is, countries which have set about to build a socialist society in the future, constitute a forward detachment of the national liberation movement at the contemporary stage. Selection of such a path of development attests to the fact that the peoples of many liberated nations are becoming convinced through their own experience that capitalism is unable to solve the most acute socioeconomic problems facing them, and is



unable to end hunger, poverty, and disease. This can be accomplished only on a pathway of socialist orientation. Today Algeria, Afghanistan, Burma, Benin, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Congo, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Madagascar, Mozambique, Syria, Tanzania, Ethiopia, and a number of other countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America have chosen this path. Of course development of these countries is not taking place identically and is occurring in difficult conditions, but their basic directions are similar.

In the economic area they aim to achieve the gradual liquidation of the position of the imperialist monopolies, the powerful local bourgeoisie and feudal lords, and restriction of the activities of foreign capital. They seek to secure for the people's government command heights in the economy and a transition to planned development of productive resources and encouragement of a cooperative movement in the village. The state sector in industry and the cooperative sector in agriculture has become the foundation of the economy in many countries of socialist orientation. In Algeria, for example, the state sector produces 90 percent of all industrial output, while the figure is 80 percent in Ethiopia and 75 percent in Syria.

Agrarian reforms have been carried out in Algeria, Burma, Congo, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Ethiopia, and certain other countries, in the course of which lands have been confiscated from foreign monopolies and local landowners and distributed among landless and little-land peasants. There is taking place in these countries a process of formation of state farms and co-operatives. Active development of their own economy enables the countries of socialist orientation to devote increasingly greater attention toward improving the situation of working people.

In the political area the countries of socialist orientation seek to enhance the role of the broad masses in public affairs gradually to achieve strengthening of the edifice of government with indigenous cadres devoted to the people, and are pursuing an antiimperialist foreign policy. In many of these countries, particularly in Syria, Burma, Algeria, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Benin, and Congo, new constitutions have been adopted which formally state their socialist choice of path, and new agencies of government authority have been formed, in the activities of which an increasingly more important role is being played by workers and peasants.

Extensive social measures in the interests of the worker masses are being carried out in young nations which have chosen the socialist path of development. Mass campaigns are being organized to combat illiteracy, children as well as young boys and girls are receiving a modern education in schools and colleges, free public medical care has been adopted, as well as stipends for children whose parents have limited income, social security for peasants, etc.

Revolutionary parties which express the interests of the broad worker masses are growing stronger in the countries of socialist orientation. These include the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the MPLA-Labor Party in Angola, and the Congolese Labor Party in the Congo.

Establishment of relations of solid friendship and cooperation with the USSR and the other nations of the socialist community is a characteristic feature of development of countries which have chosen a path of socialist orientation.

At the same time we must note that nations of socialist orientation encounter in their development numerous both internal and external difficulties. The class struggle has become aggravated in many of them, and there has become intensified resistance to progressive changes on the part of reactionary forces supported by imperialism. In some countries there is no solid unity between revolutionary-democratic forces. Proclaimed socialist slogans are not reinforced by concrete deeds, and vacillations and inconsistency in the policy of the leadership are noted. Experience indicates that socialist orientation does not predetermine the victory of socialism. In certain conditions reactionary forces are succeeding in impeding revolutionary transformations in these countries and in returning their development to a capitalist road, as has been the case in Indonesia, Egypt, Sudan and Somalia....

Nations of socialist orientation are subjected to particularly vicious attacks by imperialism, which utilizes every means -- from economic pressure to armed aggression -- to stop their development along a progressive path and once again to thwart its domination on them. The Chinese leaders are also engaged in aggressive subversive activities against these nations.

The instructor can refer to the following corroborating facts. Imperialism commenced the present undeclared war against the Afghan Revolution. The United States, other capitalist countries, as well as some Islamic countries are stinting no effort to "export counterrevolution" into Afghanistan. Basmachi bands are being assembled on the territory of countries adjacent to Afghanistan, made up of Afghan counterrevolutionary rabble entrenched in these countries. These bands are being furnished weapons by the United States, China, and Egypt, are undergoing training under the direction of U.S. and Chinese "advisers," and are being infiltrated into Afghanistan for the purpose of undermining revolutionary rule in that country and restoring a system to the liking of imperialism. The courageous struggle of the Afghan people, however, supported by the assistance of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community, is thwarting the plans of imperialism and reaction.

Washington and Beijing dream of reestablishing control over all of Southeast Asia. But the plans of these expansionists are being hindered by the three brother nations of Indochina -- Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos. Their successes in building a new life, their staunchness and courage in the face of threats and acts of provocation are enraging their enemies. Their foes are resorting to any and all means to hinder these countries from fully dedicating themselves to peaceful development! These include incessant acts of armed provocation by China against socialist Vietnam, unconcealed support of the Laotian counterrevolution, and exaggeration of the so-called "Kampuchea problem." Reactionaries are attempting to organize a political and economic boycott of these countries of Indochina. Washington and Beijing are applying continuous crude pressure on the ASEAN nations -- Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, and the Philippines, with the intention of pushing them into confrontation with Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos. To provide propaganda camouflage for their unseemly actions, the United States and the PRC are employing a myth they

themselves have fabricated, claiming an alleged threat emanating from Vietnam. It is precisely under this pretext that they are appealing to the ASEAN member nations to undertake an arms buildup.

The instructor should further state that the imperialists have also attempted to crush the popular revolutions in Angola and Ethiopia, encouraging domestic counterrevolution and external aggression. The large-scale U.S. "Bright Star" maneuvers, held in November-December 1981 on the territory of Egypt, Sudan, and Oman, were a new form of pressure applied on progressive nations in the Near East and North Africa.

As a result of instigation by imperialists, a war erupted between Iran and Iraq, absolutely senseless from the standpoint of the interests of these nations, but highly advantageous to imperialism, which is attempting to restore its former position in these countries at all costs. Seeking to achieve a dominant position in the Near East, the United States embarked upon the Camp David policy -- a policy of splitting the Arab world and arranging a separate deal between Israel and Egypt. This led to a new aggravation of the situation in the region, and normalization of the Near Eastern situation suffered a setback.

The imperialists employ various methods to force young nations to follow their policy -- from outright flattery to blunt threats. The present U.S. administration is particularly assiduously engaged in such efforts, as it would like the entire world to heed its command.

All this indicates that an essential condition for successful development of young national states along a path of socialist orientation is a consistent struggle by these nations against imperialism and domestic reaction, all-out deepening of progressive reforms, and close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community.

### 3. The USSR -- Selfless Friend of the Peoples of Liberated Countries

Development of diversified cooperation with the Soviet Union has become one of the most important factors in a successful struggle by many liberated countries to strengthen their political independence and to achieve economic independence. Considerable experience in such cooperation has been amassed in the comparatively short period of time since collapse of the colonial system. It encompasses various areas -- politics and economics, interparty relations and defense, culture and tourist travel.

Developing cooperation with the young nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the USSR is unswervingly and consistently implementing one of the fundamental principles of foreign policy elaborated by V. I. Lenin: "We shall make every effort to draw closer together and merge with the Mongols, Persians, Indians and Egyptians; we consider it our duty and /our interest/ to do this, for otherwise socialism in Europe will /not be durable./ We shall endeavor to give these peoples, which are more backward and oppressed than we, 'selfless cultural assistance'... that is, help them transition to the use of machines, to easing labor, toward democracy, and toward socialism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 30, page 120).

Three fourths of the territory of the Soviet Union lies in Asia. Dozens of peoples of the East beyond our borders were long neighbors of Russia, and today they are neighbors of a great socialist power -- the USSR. The aims and intentions of the Soviet State in relations with liberated peoples have always been extremely clear and pure. They are to strengthen, on the basis of commonality of interests, firm cooperation between the forces of socialism and the national liberation movement and to place in opposition to the splitting tactics of the imperialists and reactionary circles a genuine and day-by-day unity of actions directed against imperialism for independence, peace and social progress.

Cooperation between the Soviet Union and the other nations of the socialist community on the one hand and liberated countries on the other is based on a community of vital interests of world socialism and the national liberation movement. This cooperation has become an important factor in the economic and cultural progress of developing countries. At the same time it is also a factor in strengthening their political and economic independence. Our cooperation is on the basis of equality and mutual benefit and constitutes a new, just type of international relations. It is constructed on a foundation of respect for sovereignty and noninterference in domestic affairs and differs fundamentally from the neocolonialist policy of the imperialist nations. "Our party," noted Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "does render and will continue to render support to peoples fighting for their freedom. The Soviet Union seeks no advantages for itself thereby, is not after concessions, does not seek political domination, and does not solicit military bases. We are proceeding as our revolutionary conscience and our Communist convictions command" ("Leninskim kursom" [Following a Leninist Course], Vol 5, page 461).

Our relations are developing particularly successfully with countries of socialist orientation. In recent years treaties of friendship and cooperation have been concluded with Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Afghanistan, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, and Syria, which has made it possible to raise relations with these countries to a qualitatively new level. Cooperation between the USSR and other developing countries, particularly India, is also expanding.

The significance of economic and scientific-technical ties with the Soviet Union is great indeed for liberated countries, which inherited an extremely backward economy from the colonialists. These relations are beneficial to both sides. An important place in our relations is occupied by construction of large economic facilities in developing countries with some form of participation by the USSR. These include, for example, the Al Thawrah hydroelectric power complex in Syria, which generates more than 70 percent of the electricity produced in that country, the second unit of a metallurgical plant in Algeria, and an enterprise with a production capacity of 2.5 million tons of bauxite in Guinea. Leading Indian metallurgical enterprises in Bhilai and Bokaro were also built with our assistance. In conformity with the desires of the governments of liberated countries, the Soviet Union channels its assistance into the building of key branches of the national economy and toward the development of industry.

In 1960 the USSR was cooperating with 14 liberated countries on the basis of long-term intergovernmental agreements, while the number was 40 in 1970, and 64 in 1981. A total of 680 industrial enterprises, electric power stations, water management and agricultural facilities have been built in these countries with our assistance. At the present time more than 500 different facilities are under construction in these countries or are planned for future construction.

Our country is assisting many liberated nations in training indigenous cadres of engineers, technicians, skilled workers, doctors, and teachers. A total of 143 schools have been built with Soviet assistance in 26 young states, including 21 higher educational institutions, and an additional 88 various schools are under construction. More than 40,000 citizens from developing countries have graduated from schools in the USSR, and approximately 39,000 undergraduates, graduate students and industrial trainees are continuing their studies in the USSR. A total of more 850,000 persons from liberated countries have learned various trades and professions with the assistance of the Soviet Union.

Trade between the USSR and these countries is steadily growing. In the period 1960-1980 it grew from 0.8 to 12 billion rubles annually, that is, 15-fold. More than 80 developing nations trade with us.

The Soviet Union always has been and continues to be an unfailing ally of peoples defending their independence against the encroachments of imperialism. "We are against the export of revolution," stated Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress, "but we must also oppose the export of counterrevolution" ("Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS," page 13). Together with the other brother socialist countries, the USSR helps strengthen the defense capability of liberated nations when they make such requests, helping in building national armed forces, providing them with modern weapons and combat equipment, and in training skilled military cadres. Regular exchanges of military delegations and official friendly visits by Soviet warships to the ports of friendly countries are important forms of our cooperation in the area of defense.

The role of assistance by the Soviet Union is manifested particularly vividly in critical situations which develop in certain liberated countries. Our country, for example, effectively helped strengthen the military potential of nations opposing the Israeli extremists -- Egypt, Syria, and Iraq. Requisite assistance in the area of defense was also given to Angola and Ethiopia to repel aggression provoked by the imperialists and to defend the people's achievements.

The Soviet Union helped the Afghan revolution when an undeclared war against this country, unleashed by imperialism, created a direct threat to its independence and the security of our southern border.

In completing presentation of the material on this topic, the instructor should once again stress that cooperation between the Soviet Union and liberated countries is continuously growing deeper and broader. It promotes further strengthening of the position of the antiimperialist front, development of

the national economies of these countries, and improvement of their defense capability. As Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out at the 26th CPSU Congress, the CPSU will continue in the future consistently pursuing a policy of development of cooperation between the USSR and liberated countries and strengthening the alliance between world socialism and the national liberation movement.

During the hours assigned to independent study, it is recommended that students study the following writings of V. I. Lenin: "Awakening of Asia" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 23, pp 145-146); "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 27, page 256); Section VI of the first part of the CPSU Program; Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's "CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Current Party Tasks in the Area of Domestic and Foreign Policy" ("Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS," pp 3-4, 11-15, 20-22); fourth chapter of the political instruction textbook "Mir segodnya" [The World Today] (Voyenizdat, 1979).

The following topic items should be discussed at the seminar class (in the discussion): 1. What influence did the Great October Revolution have on the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism? 2. What are the specific features of development of liberated countries? 3. What role is played by selfless assistance by the USSR in development of the economy and strengthening of the defense of liberated countries?

#### Literature for Propagandists

V. I. Lenin, "On a Caricature of Marxism and on 'Imperialist Economism'," "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 30, pp 82-85, 93-95, 117-120.

V. I. Lenin, "Report at the Second All-Russian Congress of Communist Organizations of Peoples of the East, on 22 November 1919," "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 39, pp 318-331.

V. I. Lenin, "Report of the Commission on the Nationalities and Colonial Questions, on 26 July (Second Congress of the Communist International, 19 July-7 August 1920)," "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 41, pp 241-247.

"Programma Kommunisticheskoy partii Sovetskogo Soyuza" [Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union], Politizdat, 1976, Part 1, Section VI.

L. I. Brezhnev, "The Great October Revolution and Progress by Mankind," "Leninskim kursom" [Following a Leninist Course], Vol 6, pp 577-598.

L. I. Brezhnev, "Report by the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Current Party Tasks in the Area of Domestic and Foreign Policy," "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS," Politizdat, 1981, pp 3-4, 11-15, 20-22.

"Strany mira. Kratkiy politiko-ekonomicheskii spravochnik" [Countries of the World. A Concise Political-Economic Reference Book], Politizdat, 1981.

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## ARMED FORCES

### OUTLINE FOR INDOCTRINATION ON ATTAINING COMBAT TEAMWORK

Moscow KOMMUNIST VOORUZHENNYKH SIL in Russian No 4, Feb 82 (signed to press 5 Feb 82) pp 77-83

[Article by Candidate of Historical Sciences, Docent, Col O. Sokolov: "Proper Relations Between Servicemen -- Important Conditions For Unity and Combat Coordination of a Military Collective"]

[Text] The purpose of this class is to help students more deeply understand the importance of military comradeship in the life and combat activities of the army and navy and to comprehend the sources of the firm friendship of Soviet servicemen and the demands imposed on military personnel for strict observance of proper relations as specified by regulations -- a most important condition for cohesiveness and smooth teamwork on the part of every military collective. It is recommended that this class be held for army and navy enlisted personnel in the third period of training, following the topic "The contemporary military-political situation. Tasks of servicemen pertaining to increasing vigilance, exemplary performance of alert duty, guard duty, other duty service and watch duty."

Six hours, from reserve time, are allocated to study of this topic. Of these six hours, it is advisable to assign two hours to a lecture, two to independent study, and two hours to a discussion on the topic.

It is recommended that the following topic items be covered in the lecture:

1. Collectivism and military comradeship -- foundation of the combat cohesiveness of the military collective; 2. Strictly observe regulations, strengthen military comradeship in every way, protect the honor of the military collective.

It is important to emphasize in the brief introduction that for more than 64 years now our people, under the guidance of the Leninist Communist Party, has been firmly and confidently striding along the road of the October Revolution. During this time we have built a new society, the like of which mankind has never before known. Characteristic of this society is an atmosphere of genuine collectivism and comradeship, cohesiveness, and friendship among all our country's nationalities and peoples.

The fundamental unit of the Soviet society is the labor collective. Today socialist labor collectives have become an effective, active force in development



of production and in Communist indoctrination of Soviet citizens. This point is reflected in the USSR Constitution. In particular, Article 8 states: "Labor collectives develop socialist competition, promote dissemination of advanced work methods and strengthening of labor discipline, indoctrinate their members in a spirit of Communist morality, and concern themselves with increasing their political consciousness, level of culture and professional qualifications."

The basic features of the socialist labor collective are organically inherent in military collectives of the Soviet Armed Forces. They are united by the common goal of serving the cause of building communism and its reliable defense. In the army and navy, noted Mar SU D. F. Ustinov, USSR minister of defense, in a speech at a Komsomol report-election meeting of Taman' unit personnel, an enormous role is played by the collective. Man does not live alone and isolated. He is always among others. Mutual relations within the collective determine a serviceman's mood, feeling of well-being, and successes in training and performance of duty. The shoulder of a friend, the familiar closeness of a friend, and the loyalty of a friend are more important in army and navy conditions than anywhere else. It is precisely for this reason that it is essential to develop in army and navy personnel faithfulness to military duty and to make every effort to develop in each military collective a firm friendship and genuine comradeship.

#### 1. Collectivism and Military Comradeship -- Foundation of the Combat Cohesiveness of the Military Collective

Collectivism -- a remarkable quality -- is organically inherent in the Soviet people. In joint productive labor for the good of the homeland, Soviet citizens are successfully building a Communist society and are strengthening the defense capability of the socialist homeland.

K. Marx and F. Engels pointed to the great importance of collectivism of working people. At the same time they noted that in conditions of a capitalist society, which is rent asunder by class, ethnic and other conflicts, there can be no genuine collectivism. In an exploiter society genuine collectivism is possible only among persons who are fighting for the social liberation of the worker masses. Only a socialist society creates conditions for the emergence and development of genuinely collectivist relations.

From the very first days of Soviet rule, V. I. Lenin called for developing in the consciousness of working people in every possible way a faithfulness to the principle of collectivism, and he himself serves as a most vivid model of faithfulness to revolutionary comradeship. The leader of the working people viewed affirmation of new socialist relations and a spirit of collectivism as one of the most important tasks. The following statement by Vladimir Il'ich is well known: "We shall work to exterminate the accursed rule: 'Every man for himself, one God for all'.... We shall work to instill the following rule into the consciousness of the masses, to make it a habit and an everyday practice: 'All for one and one for all'" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Works], Vol 41, page 108). The great Lenin's dream about the triumph of a spirit of true collectivism in work and about friendship and brotherhood among Soviet

citizens has become reality before our very eyes. All Soviet citizens are comrades. They are united by common goals and common aspirations -- to live and work for the common good, to work together building the grandiose edifice of communism.

For millions of Soviet citizens the principles of the moral code of the builder of communism: "Collectivism and comradely mutual assistance: all for one and one for all," and "humane relations and mutual respect among people: man is a friend, comrade and brother to man" have become a daily standard in our life.

The Communist Party highly values these spiritual achievements of our people. "An atmosphere of genuine collectivism and comradeship," states Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "cohesiveness, friendship among all our country's nationalities and peoples, which are growing stronger day by day, and moral health, which makes us strong and steadfast -- these are the bright facets of our way of life, great achievements of socialism which have entered the flesh and blood of our reality" ("Leninskim kursom" [Following a Leninist Course], Vol 5, page 548).

During the years of building socialism and communism in the USSR, a historically new social and international community of people has been born and established -- the Soviet people -- and remarkable traditions have developed, including comradeship and collectivism. The result of enormous work by the Communist Party is an indestructible ideological-political and moral unity of Soviet citizens. The Leninist Party and its Central Committee serve as a model of unity and solidarity for all Soviet citizens. Soviet citizens learn from the Communist Party devotedly to serve their people and the great cause of building communism.

The unity and solidarity of Soviet citizens are also fully reflected in the daily life of the Soviet Armed Forces. Army and navy personnel share the same thoughts and concerns as the workers in Soviet cities and villages. Collectivism, faithfulness to the soldier's friendship and military comradeship, and the ability to work honestly for the sake of the collective, in the interests of increasing the combat readiness of the subunit, unit, and warship are especially valued in the fighting ranks of defenders of the homeland.

Mutual assistance and a spirit of collectivism and comradeship are dictated by the very nature of military labor. "The military organization," wrote M. V. Frunze, "is a specific organization, which demands of its members particular precision, accuracy, efficiency, staunchness, and swiftness in execution of all orders...." ("Izbrannyye proizvedeniya" [Selected Writings], Voenizdat, 1977, page 409).

The very tenor of military life and the collective nature of employment of many types of modern military equipment and weapons, and the necessity of steadfastly shouldering the difficulties connected with the specific features of modern combat -- all this engenders a particularly strong dependence on the part of each individual on the collective of comrades. Today Soviet servicemen operate highly complex fighting vehicles, missile systems, and radioelectronic systems,

operate nuclear-powered submarines and supersonic aircraft, and master the modes of combat employment of other military equipment. In these conditions precision and harmonious smoothness of actions, mutual interchangeability and a high degree of discipline on the part of military personnel are most important components of the fighting efficiency and combat readiness of units and warships. All types of personnel activity are drawn together in combat readiness, as in a tight knot.

The propagandist should further explain that combat teamwork in the military collective signifies precise, coordinated actions by servicemen in performing all missions assigned to personnel, especially combat missions in modern warfare, when close coordination and mutual interchangeability of comrades in arms assume exceptional importance.

It is appropriate to cite specific examples at this point. Let us take a missile system. In order to deliver an accurate strike on the enemy, each crew should perform with the highest degree of coordination. And to achieve this, all crew members must be excellent-rated specialists and have a good feeling of close familiarity with one another. These demands are imposed on personnel of all branches of service and combat arms. On a submarine, for example, total interchangeability of various groups and specialists is also required, as is precise coordination in their actions. And take the modern tank. For success in combat, a high degree of expertise is demanded of each tank crewman, as well as considerably greater coordination between tank commander, gunner, and driver than in the past.

As we know, proper mutual relations comprise the foundation of combat teamwork. Combat teamwork demands of each member of the collective the ability to subordinate his personal interests to the common cause, to devote all his energy, knowledge and ability to the success of his squad or crew.

During this class it is desirable to cite examples of comradely mutual assistance and help in the process of training and performance of duty, which the propagandist can find in the periodical press and obtain from the activities of his unit or warships. Mutual assistance on the part of paratroopers was vividly manifested during an airborne assault at the "Zapad-81" exercise.

...The military transport aircraft were headed for the drop zone. The paratroopers proceeded to jump at the command of the jumpmaster. Gds Pfc L. Manokha was the 16th to jump. A few seconds later he pulled his ripcord ring. Before his canopy was fully deployed, Gds Jr Sgt A. Uporov collided with the parachute's suspension lines. Both parachutes began to dump air and collapse, increasing their rate of fall. The paratroopers did not lose their heads in this critical situation. While Uporov was cutting away the tangled lines, Manokha pulled the ripcord on his reserve chute. Soon these courageous servicemen were on the ground and proceeded to carry out their assigned mission. Gds Jr Sgt A. Uporov and Gds Pfc L. Manokha were awarded the Order of the Red Star for courage and valor displayed at the exercise. The propagandist should then reveal the sources of the fighting brotherhood, solidarity and military comradeship in military collectives. Military comradeship is a fine tradition of Russian fighting men, dating from battles with numerous invaders in past centuries.

In the battles on Lake Peipus in 1242, on the plain of Kulikovo in 1380, in the Patriotic War of 1812, and in the defense of Sevastopol' in 1854-1855 -- our people have always stood shoulder to shoulder in the face of all enemies, and Russian fighting men have displayed mutual assistance, cohesiveness, and friendship with one another. "Our job is easy," stated A. V. Suvorov, "when many contribute amicably toward its accomplishment." Yes, there was also in the old Russian Army a tradition of solidarity in the face of the enemy and mutual support.

Genuine friendship, comradeship, and collectiveness, however, have become possible only in the army of a socialist state, where they are grounded on new, socialist relations.

The Soviet way of life and our societal and governmental system constitute one of the fundamental sources of socialist collectivism, friendship and military comradeship. The solidarity of Soviet society is a reliable foundation of the might of our socialist state, constituting our priceless, unbeatable strength. Our system and way of life create conditions for developing in Soviet citizens the best qualities of the builder of communism. These include collectivism, friendship, and comradely mutual assistance.

The ideological foundation of friendship and military comradeship consists of the Communist ideological outlook of servicemen and their faithfulness to the behests of V. I. Lenin and the cause of our party.

A very important source of military comradeship and collectivism is the indissoluble friendship among the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people's love toward their socialist homeland and the Communist Party. Servicemen of all nationalities and ethnic groups inhabiting the Soviet Union serve in the ranks of the Soviet Armed Forces.

The firm unity between the army and the people constitutes a mighty bulwark of military comradeship. This unity proceeds from the very nature of socialism and is grounded on the community of interests of all members of our society. Soviet servicemen, from private to general, originate from the people. The commonality of interests of the army and people is formally stated in the USSR Constitution. It proclaims defense of the socialist homeland to be the business of the entire people.

Finally, in conditions of continuous strengthening of the friendship and co-operation of the peoples and armies of the nations of the socialist community, military comradeship has taken on an international character. Herein lies one of the sources of the might of the armed forces of the brother socialist countries, and this is a reliable guarantee that any intrigues on the part of the imperialists and their accomplices against our community will encounter a suitable rebuff.

Thus no matter what aspects of military activities we touch upon, every one of them points to enhancement of the role of collectivism, combat coordination, and the pertinence in present-day conditions of further increasing the organization and discipline of personnel and the combat coordination of the military collectives.

2. Strictly Observe the Demands of Regulations, Strengthen Military Comradeship in Every Way, Value the Honor of the Military Collective

The military service activities and conduct of army and navy personnel are regulated by Soviet laws and military regulations, official instructions and manuals, orders and instructions by commanders and superiors. They specify the mutual relations of military personnel, which must ensure a high degree of military discipline and continuous combat readiness on the part of subunits, units, and warships. Soviet military regulations constitute a code of moral and legal standards of activity and conduct of military personnel and a regulator of armed forces internal societal relations.

What are the most important principles of mutual relations of military personnel formally stated in military regulations? First of all, our regulations specify the order of subordination in mutual relations among military personnel. According to the USSR Armed Forces Internal Service Regulations, on the basis of their position and military rank, certain military personnel can be superiors or subordinates in relation to others.

Regulations clearly define the rights and obligations of superiors and subordinates and empower superiors to order and oblige subordinates precisely and unquestioningly to carry out orders and instructions issued by superiors, to show respect to them and personnel senior in rank, to help maintain order and discipline, and rigorously to observe the rules of military courtesy and saluting. "The interests of defense of the homeland," state the USSR Armed Forces Disciplinary Regulations, "oblige a commander to demand resolutely and firmly observance of military discipline and order and not to ignore a single breach of regulations by a subordinate. The order of a commander (superior) has the force of law for subordinate personnel. An order shall be executed unquestioningly, precisely, and expeditiously."

The following saying developed in the military during time of war: "One may die, but one must carry out an order." In peacetime as well the first commandment for the soldier and sailor is strict and precise execution of orders. Failure to carry out an order is a most severe crime against the homeland. It is severely punished by Soviet laws.

A precise procedure of mutual relations between superiors and subordinates is specified in the military. Our military regulations oblige a superior to demand of a subordinate observance of military discipline, procedure as specified by regulations, and the rules of saluting. The following demand of regulations: "Unquestioningly obey commanders (superiors) and protect them in combat" is an inviolable law for army and navy personnel.

The instructor should explain to the students that subordination and obedience to commanders and superiors does not stifle the individuality of the Soviet servicemen and does not diminish his dignity, for our commander is a representative of the socialist state. He issues orders and instructions not at his own whim but proceeding from the interests of our socialist state and its reliable defense. This is why a commander's order is a command by the homeland. The homeland demands, through the commander's lips, that its defender possess

excellent knowledge of his military occupational specialty, be a disciplined and vigilant fighting man, and make every effort to strengthen military comradeship.

In the Soviet Armed Forces mutual relations among commanders and subordinates, officers and men are free of class antagonisms, such as occur in the armies of imperialist nations, for enlisted personnel, noncommissioned officers, warrant officers, officers, general and flag officers of the USSR Armed Forces are brothers in class and sons of the Soviet people, of a common homeland.

The propagandist must focus particular attention on enhancement of the role of the commander and superior in maintaining continuous combat readiness. Our commander has been given great faith and trust by the party and state. He teaches and indoctrinates personnel, and in a combat situation directs combat and bears full responsibility for accomplishment of the missions assigned to his subunit.

The love and respect on the part of soldiers and sailors toward their commanders and superiors and self-sacrificing protection of these latter in combat constitute a strong manifestation of faithfulness to military comradeship. Our servicemen have accomplished many glorious feats in saving their commanders' lives!

Hero of the Soviet Union Lt Gen M. Manakin recalls a combat incident which occurred while crossing the Dnieper during the Great Patriotic War: "My company commander was disabled in a combat encounter with the enemy -- I no longer recall which one.

"Take command, platoon leader," party member Gds Sgt Mikhail Kravchuk advised me.

"I took the company into the next assault. Party member Kravchuk, my friend and comrade, moved out half a stride ahead and shielded me with his own body. As the fighting became hot and heavy, he fell to the ground, brought down by a burst of machinegun fire. But his grenade, which he had thrown a second before, scattered the fascist machinegun crew."

Love and respect by subordinates for their commanders are also comprehensively manifested in peacetime. In his lecture the propagandist should cite examples from the history of the unit or combined unit and present incidents from the present day. It is important to help the students understand that in protecting one's commander in combat, the serviceman is helping achieve victory over the enemy. Unquestioningly and precisely carrying out his commander's orders, he is helping strengthen the might and combat readiness of the Armed Forces.

Both the history and present experience of our army and navy contain many examples where commanders as well, risking their lives, saved subordinates from danger. Here is one such incident.

...That day motorized riflemen were in the field on a live grenade throwing drill. Platoon leader Lt Yu. Mazuka was instructing one of the groups. The officer closely watched his men's actions. The fact that a soldier who had recently joined the subunit was quite nervous did not escape his gaze.



The platoon leader attempted to cheer him up and gave him some advice on safety procedures. The man seemed to calm down and proceeded to perform the drill. But then came the unexpected: pulling the pin and winding up to throw the grenade, he prematurely unclasped his hand and the grenade dropped to the ground next to the trench.

The lieutenant instantly took action. He kicked the grenade away with the toe of his boot and, diving into the trench, shielded the soldier's body with his own. The grenade exploded. The air over the trench was filled with fragments. One of them struck and injured the lieutenant. Risking his own life, this officer had saved that of his subordinate....

Mutual relations among military personnel in our army and navy are grounded on the principle of collectivism. The USSR Armed Forces Internal Service Regulations state that military personnel "shall value military comradeship, shall assist comrades by word and deed, shall keep them from committing unworthy actions and shall rescue them from danger without regard for their own lives."

These and other demands of our regulations, becoming standards of conduct for every serviceman, increase the combat coordination of the military collective, its cohesiveness and, as it were, facilitate the road to victory and battle. "Strengthen the soldier's combat friendship and military comradeship. They will help you surmount all difficulties, will help strengthen courage and volition, and will foster successful observance of military duty" -- these words spoken by Mar SU D. F. Ustinov, USSR minister of defense, are addressed to the mind and heart of every soldier and sailor; they deeply reveal the necessity of strengthening military comradeship, maintaining in every military collective firm mutual relations as specified by regulations, and the necessity of increasing organization and cohesiveness.

A serviceman who values military friendship will always come to the aid of a comrade in his hour of need, will offer needed advice, will share his know-how and give support. The conscientious serviceman, who is a member of a unified army and navy family, acts in the interests of his entire collective and feels responsibility not only for himself but also for his comrades, for his subunit, unit, and warship.

Comradeship has become a fine tradition in war. There is a rule given in Suworov's "Science of Winning": "Perish yourself, but come to the help of your comrade. And your comrade will come to your assistance." On the instructions of V. I. Lenin, it was incorporated into the "Red Armyman's Record of Service Book" issued during the civil war. This rule became law for Soviet servicemen.

We already cited an instance of comradely mutual assistance on the part of guards paratroopers. Our army and navy abound with examples of mutual support by servicemen in a difficult situation and the noble aspiration of defenders of the homeland to help one another honorably stand up to any trial.

As was already mentioned, men of dozens of nationalities inhabiting our homeland serve in our army and navy. The Soviet military collective unites them



all into a unified combat family. And concern for one another in the family is a primary matter.

...Recon scouts had traveled several dozen kilometers across loose sand, under the blazing sun, carrying a minimal water supply, in order to mount a surprise attack and destroy an important "aggressor" installation. The party included lads from Moskovskaya and Gor'kovskaya oblasts, Latvians, Estonians and Komi, who had not yet become accustomed to temperatures of 40 degrees Celsius. How were they able to withstand the oppressive Turkestan heat? It was quite a simple matter, and at the same time deeply symbolic. Their comrades -- servicemen of indigenous nationalities -- shared water with them and helped carry their weapons and ammunition. In short, friendship multiplied their energies.

After completion of the combat training mission, the men placed flowers at a monument to red dekhkans [Central Asian peasants].

Comradeship and mutual assistance occupy a special place in socialist competition. They contain a great moral force which moves servicemen to become permeated with responsibility not only for their own success but also for the actions and conduct of their comrades and for the successes of their subunit, unit, and warship. A persistent striving to march in the vanguard of competition participants and to boost one's comrades up to this level is also to be found in many patriotic undertakings in the army and navy. These include "Heroes Marching With Us," "Not One Single Lagger Alongside!" "You Yourself Have Learned -- Teach Your Comrades," and "Make the Know-How of Excellent Performers in Training Available to All Servicemen!" In every subunit, unit, and on every naval ship there are many examples of comradely mutual assistance and exchange of experience and knowledge, which promote improvement in combat expertise, help strengthen discipline and increase combat readiness. It is desirable that the propagandist cite some of these in the course of his lecture.

One of the most important manifestations of true collectivism is high-mindedness in mutual relations among members of the collective and willingness to go to the aid of one's comrade but also at the same time to tell him the truth to his face when necessary. A true friend endeavors to keep his comrade from bad deeds, is implacable toward his shortcomings, and speaks frankly and forthrightly about errors of omission in performance of duty, for there is an apt popular saying: "A friend argues, an enemy agrees."

The propagandist should direct the students' attention to the particular danger of a situation of mutual protection, when honesty and high-mindedness of relationships are replaced by mutual concealment of unworthy actions. Mutual protection "corrodes" the collective like rust and creates the illusion that things are going fine. In a tough situation it is difficult to count on one another and successfully to accomplish the assigned mission.

Those servicemen are doing the right thing who are unable to remain silent, to be fainthearted, to take a position of noninterference when they encounter lack of discipline and violation of our moral standards. A true friend is he who does not cover the infractions of his comrade but endeavors to help him become free of bad tendencies and negative traits in his character and conduct.

Finally, it is important to draw the attention of the students to the necessity of protecting the honor of their military collective at all times and in all things. The enormous moral influence of the fighting collective on combat soldiers is profoundly and vividly discussed in Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's memoirs "Malaya Zemlya." Leonid Il'ich relates with great warmth the story of an ordinary soldier who was assigned to a reserve unit upon release from a military hospital, but who decided to return at all costs to his own unit, which at that time was situated at the very heart of the fighting with the fascists. And the author poses a question -- what conclusions follow from this seemingly routine incident? The soldier has faith in his commanders and political leaders and has faith in his comrades, with whom he goes out on patrol or launches an assault. Otherwise why would he seek to return to his unit? In addition, he also had conducted himself in combat in a worthy manner. A coward would have sought transfer to a different unit, would have gone where there were no witnesses to his cowardice. A negligent soldier, unloved by his comrades, will also not feel drawn to them. Was this perhaps a special company, which attracted people? No. The author asserts with full justification: "Along the entire Soviet-German front from one end to the other, in all medical battalions of the USSR Armed Forces we heard: I want to return to my unit! People considered their own company, regiment, and division to be special, the very best, their very own in the full meaning of the word. As it turns out, our entire army consisted of 'special' units" ("Leninskim kursom," Vol 7, page 49). This "special" character was given to our units first and foremost by the men's deep understanding of their patriotic duty and their inherent sense of collectivism, friendship, and military brotherhood.

Widely known throughout the army and navy are collectives the personnel of which worthily add to the honor and glory earned on the field of battle and during peacetime combat training. They include the Putilovsko-Kirovskiy Order of Lenin Guards Air Defense Antiaircraft Missile Regiment. The antiaircraft gunners fought courageously against the enemy in the last war. Defending the skies over Moscow, they inflicted considerable losses on the fascist air pirates. Years and decades pass, regiment personnel change, and yet its fine reputation becomes further enriched and strengthened. Commanders and political workers, party and Komsomol activists explain to the missile crewmen that to guard the honor of one's regiment means to work with full effort, to work persistently to master the first-class combat equipment, and strictly to observe the demands of the military oath and regulations. Communists and Komsomol members constitute a leading force in the campaign to increase the successes of the collective.

Unfortunately certain instances are encountered where military personnel fail to guard the honor of their collective and have a disrespectful attitude toward the comrades with whom they serve side by side. Sharp censure should be leveled at instances of arrogant conduct by more veteran army and navy personnel toward those who were inducted at a later date. Manifested in this haughtiness and claims on unlawful privileges, in addition to lack of respect for regulations, is a lack of elementary civilized standards and deficient spiritual development. The entire army and navy community and army and navy Komsomol organizations are called upon to offer a resolute rebuff to such instances. It is their direct task to campaign for moral purity of mutual relations in military collectives

and for creation in these collectives of a microclimate which would actively help bring out the finest qualities of each soldier and sailor and would foster unity of personnel and successful accomplishment of all tasks.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev stresses: "The higher our society rises in its development, the more intolerable become those deviations from socialist standards of morality which are still encountered" ("Leninskim kursom," Vol 5, page 537). This also applies to the Soviet Armed Forces, which are a genuine school of indoctrination of Soviet youth, a school of collectivism, comradeship and friendship.

Communists and Komsomol activists are the most conscious, progressive and active segment of the Soviet military collective. By personal example of conscientious performance of duty, by a genuinely comradely attitude toward others, and by numerous means of ideological influence, they unite their fellow soldiers and wage an implacable struggle against everything which is incompatible with the principles of Communist morality and with the demands of the military oath and military regulations.

Upon completing presentation of the material on this topic, the propagandist shall once again emphasize that our Armed Forces serve the cause of defense of socialist achievements, the peaceful labor of the Soviet people, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state. Military collectives of subunits, units, warships, and combined units, led by one-man commanders, bear responsibility for the security of the homeland and for guarding the peaceful labor of millions of Soviet citizens. The ideological and moral maturity of the serviceman is manifested in struggle for the good name and the honor of one's military collective. This feeling spiritually elevates the person of the Soviet serviceman and impels him to achieve exemplary performance of duty to the socialist homeland.

During the hours of independent preparation, students should study V. I. Lenin's "Tasks of the Youth Unions" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Works], Vol 41, pp 298-318); Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (articles 8, 31, 32, 59-65); L. I. Brezhnev's "CPSU Central Committee Report to the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Current Party Tasks in the Area of Domestic and Foreign Policy" ("Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress], page 66); Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's book "Malaya zemlya" (Politizdat, 1978); the address by Mar SU D. F. Ustinov, USSR minister of defense, at the Komsomol report-election meeting in a guards motorized rifle regiment of the Taman' Guards Motorized Rifle Division imeni M. I. Kalinin (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, 10 December 1981); Chapter 13 of the political instruction textbook "Na strazhe Rodiny" [Guarding the Homeland] (Voyenizdat, 1978).

It is recommended that students be asked the following questions during discussion of the materials during the discussion period: 1. What did V. I. Lenin say about collectivism and comradely mutual assistance as the most important traits of Soviet man? 2. What importance does our party attach to relationships of collectivism and comradely mutual assistance on the part of Soviet citizens in building communism? 3. Why is the role of military comradeship increasing in army and navy life? 4. What are the principal traits of the

Soviet military collective and its specific features? 5. What demands do military regulations place on mutual relations of military personnel? 6. What is demanded of each and every serviceman in order for the combat coordination of the collective of the subunit, unit, and warship to become even stronger?

#### Literature for Propagandists

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V. I. Lenin, "From the First Subbotnik on the Moscow-Kazan' Railroad to the All-Russian Subbotnik-May Day Celebration," "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 41, pp 107-109.

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Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, articles 8, 31, 32, 59-65.

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L. I. Brezhnev, "Malaya Zemlya," Politizdat, 1978.

D. F. Ustinov, "Speech at Komsomol Report-Election Meeting of a Guards Motorized Rifle Regiment of the Taman' Guards Motorized Rifle Division imeni M. I. Kalinin," KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, 10 December 1981.

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CSO: 1801/203

## ARMED FORCES

### ARMED FORCES BODY DISCUSSES UPCOMING ELECTIONS

PM101533 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Jun 82 p 2

[Unattributed report: "At the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate; Unremitting Attention Toward Preparation for the Elections:]

[Excerpts] The Soviet Army and Navy main political directorate has examined the progress of preparation in the army and navy for the elections to the local soviets and people's rayon (city) court judges. A report on this question by Maj Gen Ye. Makov, first deputy chief of the Baltic Military District Political Directorate, was heard and discussed. The results of the discussion were summed up by Adm A. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy main political directorate.

The report and speeches noted the features of preparation for the elections which are determined by the fact that this preparation has coincided with very important political events in our country. The CPSU Central Committee May (1982) Plenum which approved the USSR food program for the period through 1990, the 17th USSR Trade Unions Congress, the 19th Komsomol Congress and the speeches delivered at them by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev armed the working class, kolkhoz peasantry, intelligentsia and Soviet youth with new guidelines and important practical recommendations in the struggle to fulfill the tasks set by the 26th party congress and to provide a fitting greeting to the 60th anniversary of the USSR's formation. The Sixth All-Army Conference of primary party organization secretaries lent powerful impetus in the army and navy to the further enhancement of the political and professional activeness of the motherland's armed defenders.

Preparation for the elections has entered its concluding phase. It is important, as at all preceding stages, to ensure the precise fulfillment of the requirements of the election laws, to build up the activeness and scope of agitation and propaganda work and mass political work, to focus our main efforts on the improvement of this work's ideological content, and specific, efficient nature and the consolidation of its link with life and the practical deeds of the labor and military collectives, and to perform it constantly, taking account of for the distinctive features of the different categories of voters.

The task consists in ensuring that the profound explanation of the materials of the CPSU Central Committee May Plenum and the report delivered at it by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev and the work performed around the results of the Sixth All-Army Conference of primary party organization secretaries, the 17th USSR Trade Unions Congress and the 19th Komsomol Congress should be combined very closely with the propaganda of the worldwide-historical advantages and achievements of the Soviet Union and the union republics and oblasts on whose territory the military units are stationed in resolving sociopolitical, economic and national problems, the propaganda of the successes of Lenin's nationalities policy and the democracy of the Soviet system, the indivisibility of the Soviet citizens' rights from their constitutional duties, the role of justice in the consolidation of socialist legality with a reasoned expose of the falsity of bourgeois democracy and the flaws and incurable ills of imperialism.

The complexity of the international situation and the increased aggressiveness of imperialism, primarily U.S. and British imperialism, must be explained more actively to the personnel. It is important to bring to the voters the unchanging nature of the CPSU's Leninist peace-loving policy and the consistent struggle of the party, its Central Committee and the Central Committee Politburo headed by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev for the implementation of the peace program for the eighties.

CSO: 1801/273

## GROUND FORCES

### SIMULATOR FOR SELF-PROPELLED HOWITZER DESCRIBED

Moscow TEKHNICA I VOORUZHENIYE in Russian No 3, 1982 pp 26-27

[Article by Engr-Lt Col G. Radygin and WO N. Teslya: "A Gunner Trainer Stand"]

[Text] The Military Artillery Academy imeni M. I. Kalinin has developed a simulator [trainer stand] for the gunner of a self-propelled howitzer. This unit is used in studying the sights and in developing the practical skills involved in aiming the piece for range and line of fire.

In the upper part of the stand (Fig. 1) is the flat image 1 of the howitzer made from plywood. Its rocking part is kinematically linked with the motor for the electric drive of laying for elevation (BH) and which is located on the inner side of the stand. The axis of rotation for the rocking part of the howitzer through the connecting rods of parallelograms 2 and 3 is rigidly connected to the drives of the variable reluctance pick-up and the reflector of the optical sight.

The field of vision of the panorama is made from glass on which are applied the scales and indexes of a regulation gun panorama. A photograph of a section of terrain is held under the glass in a frame. The frame is kinematically linked with the motor for the electric drive of the laying for deflection (PH) and can be moved in the horizontal plane.

The scales for the mechanical matching unit 4 are covered with a lens in the field of vision of which can be seen the scales of the gun 6 and the sight 5. The gun scale is kinematically linked with parallelogram 2 and the sight scale with the sighting angle handwheel 9 of the mechanical sight. Both scales can be moved in the vertical plane independently of one another.

The field of vision of the optical sight is formed by two glasses. The exterior glass on which a horizontal line has been applied is held stationary. Behind it lies the inner glass which has the same scales and indexes as an optical sight. It is kinematically connected to the sighting angle handwheel 12 of the optical sight and can be moved in a vertical plane. A photograph of the terrain has been placed behind the inner glass in a frame. The frame is kinematically connected to the parallelogram 3 and can be moved in a carriage in the vertical plane. In turn the carriage is kinematically connected to the motor for the laying-for-deflection electric drive and along with the frame can be moved in a horizontal plane. In the lefthand lower corner of the stand there is a scale for the traverse indicator. At



the center of it on the axis an arrow has been attached while the axis itself is kinematically connected to the motor of the laying-for-deflection electric drive.

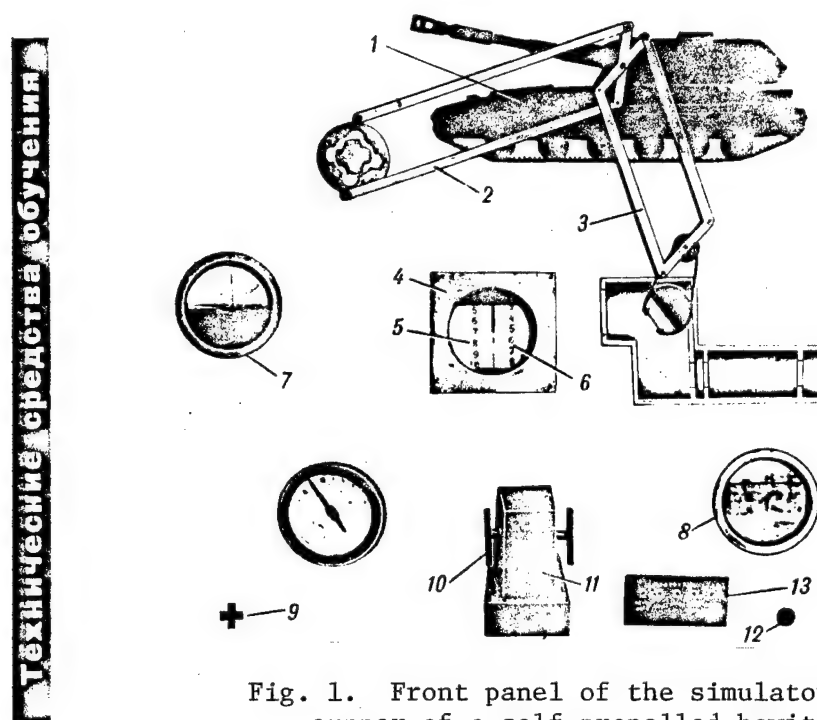


Fig. 1. Front panel of the simulator for the gunner of a self-propelled howitzer

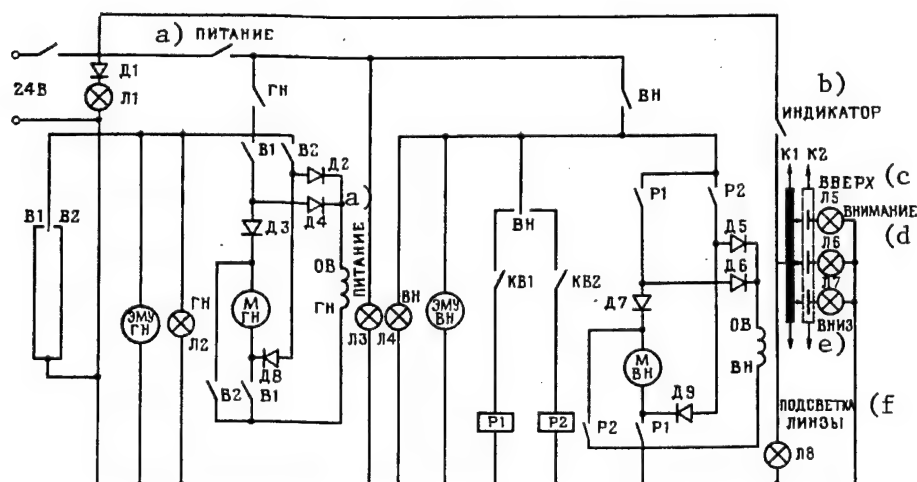


Fig. 2. Electrical circuitry of simulator

Key: a--Power; b--Indicator; c--Up; d--Attention; e--Down; f--Lens light

For controlling the sight devices, a three-dimensional model has been worked out for the electric drive panel 11 with the levers 10 and a panel 13 with five switches used to connect the indicator to the power, for turning on the light for the

panorama field of vision, the optical sight, the traverse indicator and the scales for the mechanical matching assembly. The view of the panorama's field of vision 7 and the optical sight 8 is shown on diagrams attached to the stand.

The basic circuitry of the simulator is shown in Fig. 2. The contactor K1 is kinematically connected to the sighting angle handwheel of the mechanical sight and the contactor K2 with the parallelogram 2.

In training, the gunner, in turning the sighting angle handwheel 9, using the scale sets the required sighting. Here contactor K1 is moved relative to contactor K2 and the sight scale is moved relative to the gun scale. By switching the switches II and BH on the panel of the electric drive, the trainee moves the levers of the board forward if the "Down" light goes on or backwards if the "Up" light goes on. As a result the angle of elevation for the barrel on the howitzer's image correspondingly declines or increases. Simultaneously the gun scale and the contactor K2 are moved. When the error angle between the axis of the gun barrel and the sight setting made using the sighting angle handwheel equals 1-00, the middle light of the indicator with the word "Attention" goes on. When the third light of the indicator goes on, the trainee puts the levers of the board in the initial position. In this instance the indexes for the sight and gun scales coincide.

In aiming the barrel in a vertical plane the stand clearly demonstrates the work of the drives of the sensor and mirror of the optical sight. If the barrel reaches the maximum elevation angles, the switches KB1 or KB2 are tripped and the electric drive is shut off.

In aiming the gun using an optical sight, the trainee sets the given setting with the handwheel 12. Then he is indicated a certain target shown on the photograph in the field of vision of the optical sight. Having turned on all three switches on the board of the electric drive and moving its handles forward (or backward) and the housing of the board to the left (or to the right), the trainee lines up the image of the target in the sight's field of vision with the aiming mark. After this the handles and the housing are put in the initial position.

With laying for deflection using the panorama, the trainee is indicated the aiming point or the reading for the traverse indicator (the design of the simulator does not provide for using a panorama clinometer). On the board of the electric drive, the trainee turns on the switches II and PH. In turning the housing of the board to the right or left, he holds it in the required position until the image of the designated aiming point lines up with the sight sign in the panorama's field of vision or the arrow of the traverse indicator with the indicated division on the scale. After this, the housing of the board must be returned to the initial position.

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## AIR DEFENSE FORCES

ARTICLE BY GENERAL BOBYLEV OF AIR DEFENSE FORCES

PM191607 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Apr 82 p 2

[Article by Col Gen S. Bobylev, member of the Military Council and chief of the Political Directorate of the Air Defense Forces: "Guarding the Motherland's Skies"]

[Excerpts] This evening the sky over Moscow, the union republic capitals and the hero-cities will be ablaze with the light of festive fireworks. The motherland will be saluting the air defense servicemen--the sentinels of the Soviet sky--who are marking their annual festival.

This year--the second year of the 11th 5-year plan--we are marking our festival in the atmosphere of the inspired toil of the Soviet people and their armed defenders in the implementing the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the CPSU Central Committee November (1981) Plenum. All the efforts and creative energy of Soviet people and army navy servicemen are geared to a worthy greeting for the remarkable jubilee of the 60th anniversary of the USSR's formation.

In postwar years the Air Defense Forces' development has been pursued on the basis of an in-depth study of the experience and lessons of the last war and a comprehensive account of the achievements and development prospects of military affairs, combat hardware and armaments. The further improvement of our country's air defense is a vital necessity stemming from the international situation which is actually taking shape and the threat of a surprise attack on the USSR and other socialist community countries.

Our people and army and navy servicemen fervently approve and unanimously support the domestic and foreign policy of the Communist Party and Soviet State. The peace program for the eighties adopted by the 26th CPSU Congress is having a tremendous influence on international development. The Soviet Union's new peace initiatives were set out by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev at the 17th Congress USSR Trade Union and in his Tashkent speech.

However, the peace-loving foreign policy of the USSR and the entire socialist community is opposed by the aggressive course of the U.S. and other NATO countries' bellicose circles. They are gambling on achieving military superiority over the USSR and the Warsaw Pact countries, aggravating the international situation and fueling the arms race.

Under these conditions, the Communist Party, Soviet Government and the entire people are showing constant concern to equip the army and navy, including the air defense forces, with everything necessary for the reliable defense of our motherland's borders and state interests.

The air defense forces are on constant combat readiness. They are in the front-line in peacetime, too. Air defense servicemen must be ready at all times to repulse a surprise attack by a strong, technically well-equipped and treacherous enemy.

Constant readiness is a specific concept. Nowadays our forces do not count the time in hours or even in minutes but in seconds. The supersonic speeds and high maneuverability of the means of air attack and the great scale, speed and tremendous intensity of combat operations demand the personnel high moral-political and combat qualities. Special demands are made on the flexibility and reliability of all links and organs of combat control.

The air defense forces' firepower is based on antiaircraft missile forces equipped with missile installations with a high capability for hitting modern means of air attack at any altitude or flight speed. Whereas in the war years on average 800 artillery shells and an even greater number of large-caliber machine-gun cartridges--up to 10,000--were expended for every aircraft shot down, virtually every missile launch hits its target.

The missile-armed fighter force is the air defense forces' most maneuverable category. It is equipped with supersonic and all-weather interceptor fighters with missile weaponry and radar equipment.

An important role is played by the radio engineering forces who carry out continuous radar surveillance and provide missilemen and fliers with information.

Under the conditions of a fast-moving and dynamic engagement the control of modern air defense force facilities is very complex. The automated control systems which have been introduced into our forces on a wide scale enable commanders and staffs to make efficient use of the troops' combat capabilities.

Communists and Komsomol members are the cementing force of army collectives, while the party organizations which together with Komsomol organizations initiate many illustrious deeds and undertakings and are a reliable support for commanders and political organs in the personnel's political, military and moral education, are their militant nucleus. The preparations for the all-army conference of primary party organization secretaries is having a positive effect on increasing communists' creative activity and initiative in resolving combat readiness tasks. Our Komsomol members and young people are greeting the 19th Komsomol Congress with new successes in training, service, strengthening of discipline and the performance of combat duty.

Widescale socialist competition has been launched in the forces in the year of the 60th anniversary of the USSR's formation under the slogan "Reliably defend the Soviet people's peaceful labor!" Many subunits are setting examples of good discipline, are carrying out highly rated combat fire training on ranges,

are performing combat duty vigilantly and are successfully concluding the winter training period.

Profoundly aware of their patriotic and internationalist duty, the air defense personnel are constantly ready in single formation with the personnel of other branches of the USSR Armed Forces and with the Warsaw Pact countries' servicemen to carry out their duty to ensure the security of the peaceful labor of Soviet people and the socialist community peoples.

CSO: 1801/270A

## PERCEPTIONS, VIEWS, COMMENTS

### U.S. M-60 TANK MODERNIZATION DISCUSSED

Moscow TEKHNICA I VOORUZHENIYE in Russian No 3, 1982 p 37

[Article by Engr-Lt Col O. Ivanov: "Modernization of the Basic Types of M-60 Tanks"]

[Text] Along with the development of new tanks, American military specialists have given serious attention to modernizing the obsolete models. In accord with the plans of the U.S. military leadership, at the beginning of the 1990's around one-half of the total number of basic tanks will be made up of the M-60 tanks and the vehicles developed on their base, the M-60A1, M-60A2 and M-60A3 (see the Table).

The M-60 tanks are being modernized both by the U.S. industrial enterprises as well as by the military repair facilities.

The M-60A1 tank was the first version for the modernizing of the M-60 tank. It included a turret with increased shellproof qualities. The fire control system incorporated a set of infrared observation devices as well as sights for firing and driving the tank at night. For illuminating the targets there was a searchlight with a xenon light mounted on a special bracket on the foresight mask.

Subsequently in the M-60A1 tanks a new two-plane stabilizer for the basic weapons and an electronic ballistic computer were included in the fire control system. As has been announced, the computer can consider corrections for the reduction in the shell muzzle velocity as a consequence of wear on the cannon bore and the error of the axis of the bore with the zero sighting line. The total correction is automatically included in the periscopic sight of the gunner and the rangefinder sight of the tank commander. Moreover, the working conditions of the driver have been improved by replacing the steering wheel with a T-shaped lever, the position of certain controls and instruments has been altered, a new hydraulic drive for the transmission brakes and a mechanical stopping brake have been employed and telescopic shock absorbers have been incorporated on the first, second and sixth rollers.

In 1968, the M-60A2 fire support tank was developed on the basis of the M-60A1 chassis. Mounted on its turret was a 152-mm gun-launcher, the barrel of which had a keyway for launching the Shillelagh antitank guided missiles and rifling for firing conventional ammunition.

The M-60A2 tank was equipped with a new fire control system in which a laser rangefinder was included in addition to an electrohydraulic weapons stabilization system (the gun-launcher and the coupled machine gun) and an electronic ballistic computer.

Name of Parameter	Makes of Basic Combat Tank			
	M-60	M-60A1	M-60A2	M-60A3
Combat weight, tons	46.3	48	c. 45	50.8
Basic weapons (no.--caliber, mm): --cannon --gun--launcher	1-105 --	1-105 --	-- 1-152	1-105 --
Traverse of cannon and coupled machine gun, degrees: --vertical --horizontal	-9+20 360	-9+20 360	-10+20 360	-9+20 360
Unit of fire, units: --rounds --7.62-mm cartridges --12.7-mm cartridges	57 5,950 900	63 5,950 950	33+13 ATGM 4,200 900	63 5,950 950
Weapons stabilizer	--	Two-Plane Electrohydraulic		
Maximum armor thickness, mm: --body --tower	120 178	120 150	120 --	120 150
Average speed across rugged ground, km per hour	24	24	24	28
Average ground pressure, kg per cm <sup>2</sup>	0.77	0.78	0.77	0.78

There was also a device for blowing out the bore of the gun-launcher (for removing the remnants of burning shell cases and powder gases after a round).

In the middle of 1981, the M-60A3 tank was put into series production. Designed into its fire control system were additional sensors. For this reason, in calculating the initial data for firing, in addition to the range to the target and the drift of barrel wear, the computer considered the slope of its trunnion axis, the temperature of the powder charge, the type of shell and the amount of the sidewind.

On the M-60A3 tank, a television sight was included in the place of the passive gunner's night sight. The American 7.62-mm tank machine gun was replaced by the Belgian M-240 of the same caliber. A heat-insulating jacket is provided for the cannon. For laying smokescreens the M239 grenade launchers are included and these are mounted on the sides of the front of the turret, as well as thermal smoke generating equipment.

Simultaneously with the production of the M-60A3 tanks, the U.S. military leadership is planning to manufacture at industrial plants the corresponding amount of sets of



improved assemblies and units for modernizing the M-60A1 tanks under troop conditions and for bringing their fighting qualities up to the performance level of the M-60A3 tank.

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## PERCEPTIONS, VIEWS, COMMENTS

### COMMENTARY ON TECHNICAL, WEAPONS DEVELOPMENT IN WEST

Moscow TEKHNIIKA I VOORUZHENIYE in Russian No 3, 1982 pp 38-39

[Unattributed briefs on military equipment in the capitalist states]

[Text] A Japanese Tank

Japan is developing a basic third-generation tank, the STC (type 88). Its basic weapons will include a 120-mm smooth-bore cannon which is stabilized in two planes. At the same time, the design makes it possible to also mount a 105-mm rifled cannon which is a weapon on the type 74 tank. The unit of fire will include hollow-charge, armor-piercing composite shells with discarding sabots as well as smoke shells.

The tank will employ an 8-cylinder diesel engine with a power of 716 kilowatts (975 hp). The vehicles crew is four men. It is assumed that the combat weight of the tank will vary within limits of 45-50 tons and maximum speed for moving over roads will be 70 km per hour. The first experimental model of the new tank is to be manufactured in 1983 and will be tested during the following year.

#### A Smoke Shell

The XM825 shell developed in the United States is designed for firing from a 155-mm howitzer, the M109A1(A2) and the M198. White phosphorus is the basis of its charge. One shell creates a smokescreen up to 250 m along the front. The smoke generating time is up to 10 minutes.

#### A Night Vision Instrument

Great Britain is working on a night vision instrument designed for use on helicopters (beneath their nose). In design terms, all its elements are contained in a spherical housing with a diameter of 0.635 m. The stabilization system provides dependable orientation of the instrument at the target under the conditions of heavy vibration and with a sharp change in the course of flight.

It has been announced that the instrument will be aimed by commands from the pilot (for azimuth and altitude at a rate of 100° per second) and in an automatic mode with the turning of the pilot's head which is converted into the commands for the sensor included in the pilot's helmet. The image of the target (area of the terrain) is illuminated on a small-size display which is mounted on the helmet in front of the pilot's eyes. Under conditions of maximum vibration, the amplitude of the

instrument's oscillations will be approximately  $0.001^\circ$  and this will make it possible to employ TV and photographic objectives with a field of vision of  $1^\circ$  without additional adaptations.

#### The 155-mm Howitzer

Military specialists in Israel are developing a towed howitzer with a caliber of 155 mm. This will conform to the NATO standard. The firing range of the howitzer will be approximately 20 km. Accuracy of fire and the rate of fire, in comparison with analogous American artillery weapons, will be somewhat higher. The angle of deflection will be  $360^\circ$  (with other howitzers of the given caliber this angle equals  $40^\circ$ ). In order to facilitate the use of the howitzer, the loading mechanism is pneumatic (using compressed nitrogen). The switching of the howitzer from a traveling position to the combat and back is done with the aid of a hydraulic jack. Due to the mechanizing of a larger portion of the basic and auxiliary operations, a crew of six men is to be used (in other howitzers of the given caliber the crew is nine men).

#### The 155-mm Antitank Shell

The first testing has been conducted on the American antitank shell, the Staff, with a passive homing head the action of which is based upon the "fire and forget" principle. The shell is designed to be fired from the regular 155-mm artillery guns and barrel antitank mounts for which the length of the barrel rifling is at least 20 calibers. The shell flies along a flat trajectory at a small height. In the homing system there are two passive radiometric pick-ups. Their angles of vision are  $180^\circ$  apart and are perpendicular to the shell's axis. If target information is received by even one of the pick-ups, a signal is produced for detonating the warhead. The tank or other armored equipment is hit from above by a hollow charge percussion charge.

#### The Fox Hunter Radar

Great Britain, on the experimental model of the air defense fighter Tornado F-2, is testing out a multipurpose Fox Hunter doppler radar designed for intercepting airborne targets. The radar operates in a frequency range of 8-10 gigahertz and can detect airborne targets at a maximum range of 185 km.

It has been announced that it has a Cassegrainian antenna with a diameter of 0.8 m. A digital processor is employed in it for processing the radar signals.

The basic operating mode of the radar is continuous tracking of individual air targets. This mode is employed in firing the cannon and aiming the air-to-air Sky Flash guided missiles (with a launch range of 40 km). Additional modes include simultaneous tracking of from 12 to 20 targets, scanning the earth's surface and measuring distance-to-ground objects.

An operator controls the radar. In his cockpit are located the indicators of the overall and current navigation situation. In the pilot's cockpit, on the windshield, there is an indicator used in intercepting a target as well as during the air combat. Due to employing integrated circuits the Fox Hunter radar is low in weight (300 kg) and half the size of the similar radar for the F-14 fighter.

The radar is to be in commission in 1983.

#### Hand-Operated Power Units

The American Army has commissioned an electric unit equipped with a manual drive and designed for charging small capacity storage batteries and powering field radios. The unit has two settings for output voltage (the first of 30 volts and the second of 30-40 volts). It weighs around 3 kg. The unit's design makes it possible to drop it by parachute from an aircraft.

An analogous unit (type HD29/II) with a capacity of 30 watts has been commissioned by the English Army. It differs from the American in having an attachment for fastening to a tree trunk. There are six modifications of the units differing in the output voltage and these are designed for charging storage batteries with a rated voltage from 12 to 30 volts.

#### A West German Radar

The West German Army has received a new type of mobile radar, the TRMS. It is assumed that it together with other radio electronic equipment can be employed in three modifications: as a radar for tracking the air enemy, as a radar for detecting sea targets in defending the coastline and as an information radar for cooperation with antiaircraft missile complexes. The detection range for airborne targets is 200 km for azimuth and 20 km for altitude. For improving viewing, the antenna can be raised to an altitude of 12 m. The changing of the radar from a travel position to a combat one can be carried out in 30 minutes. Its equipment can be carried on any means of transport with a wheel arrangement of 6 x 6.

#### Smoke Generating Equipment

The M-243 smoke generating equipment adopted by the U.S. Army is designed for armored and motor-tractor equipment. This unit is loaded with English-produced L8A1 smoke grenades. It has two launching containers with four tubular guides. The control panel is located in the combat department of the armored vehicle or in the driver's cab. In 2-6 seconds after a salvo of 8 grenades a smokescreen is created 20-50 m from the vehicle. Depending upon the force of the wind it will last 1-3 minutes.

#### The M-2 Infantry Combat Vehicle

The M-2 infantry combat vehicle has been adopted by the ground forces of the U.S. Army. In addition to a 25-mm automatic cannon and a 7.62-mm machine gun, its two-seat turret contains a launcher for the TOW antitank guided missiles with two guides. In the fighting department of the vehicle are the commander and the gunner. In the driving compartment located in the nose of the vehicle is the driver. In the troop compartment and gear bay ["perekhodnyy otsek"] it is possible to transport a group of soldiers (six men) with their complete gear. They can fire from the infantry combat vehicle from six M231 rifles (5.56 mm caliber) fastened to ball mounts, three 66-mm M72A2 hand-held antitank grenade launchers and one 7.62-mm M60 machine gun. Three firing modes are envisaged for the cannon, at a rate of 100 and 200 rounds per minute and by individual fire.